

Framing the abduction of the
Chibok schoolgirls in Helsingin Sanomat news

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>The objective of this thesis is to utilise the frame-building perspective to study how the Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat framed the case of the Chibok schoolgirls who were abducted by the terrorist group Boko Haram in April 2014 in Nigeria. The data of this study is based on 105 news articles published by Helsingin Sanomat between April 2014 and December 2018.</p> <p>The structure of the thesis consists of four main sections. The first section focuses on mapping the case in the Nigerian context and providing information to understand the Nigerian situation with regard to its historical background, the rise of Boko Haram, and the case of the abducted Chibok girls.</p> <p>The second section focuses on the theoretical frameworks. News framing theory is an appropriate tool for studying media content that deals with terrorism. While the case consists of foreign news, there are also brief references to the theory of newsworthiness and foreign news transmission processes in the Finnish media. Also, the ambiguous relation between media and terrorism is addressed: terrorists need media for conveying information about their attacks, and correspondingly, their attacks serve as material for the news media.</p> <p>The third section focuses on terrorism and its victims, and its relation to conflict-related gender-based violence. In the Chibok schoolgirls' case one perspective to violence is the concept of abduction.</p> <p>The fourth section focuses on the implementation of the frame building perspective to examine the selected Helsingin Sanomat news data. The study reveals that in reporting the Chibok schoolgirls' case, Helsingin Sanomat favoured material from western news agencies and the most referred to news agencies were AFP and Reuters. Local Nigerian media was referred to as a source only in five of the news. The categorization of the quote source types reveals that Nigerian authorities dominated as sources for the citations in the news.</p> <p>From the news data a total of 12 frame theme categories are recognized and these categories are further organized into four main frame theme groups. In the group "Understanding the circumstances" the prevailing background information is the description of Boko Haram and the dichotomy of the country, but discussion of the ethno-religious historical background of the conflict remains limited. The second group "Government inactivity and politics" reveals that the news mainly concentrate on the negotiations and the international interventions to resolve the conflict between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram. The third group "Terrorism and violence" concentrates on the case of the Chibok schoolgirls, and the other attacks are described as chains of events. The Nigerian government's role in the atrocities is recognized but not widely discussed. In the last frame theme group "Community and compassion" the communities' active role in conflict resolution is recognized as the voice of the victims of Boko Haram.</p> <p>In general, the Chibok schoolgirls are depicted as a cohesive group which is subject to terrorism and collective violence. Despite the wide media coverage, the schoolgirls' story is told by others in the news or via the reports of human rights organizations. The conflict in the country is depicted to be that between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram, although the unstable situation in the country has developed from a complex web of socio-cultural, economic, ethno-religious, and regional elements. The Chibok girls themselves, although referred to in the news, are mainly presented as victims whose own voice is hardly heard.</p>		
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1 Introduction

Media provides us with information about events taking place outside of our own experiences. Media also compresses the events to texts and images that present the events to us. This process requires an act of compression in which the events are represented in texts and images that reflect the events themselves, as well as the causes and consequences related to the events. The production of news is a selective process of reconstructing reality from different perspectives and with different voices describing the events themselves. News source selection also impacts the initial frames of how the public understands the conflict.¹

In this study I concentrate on the frame building of the case of abducted Nigerian schoolgirls from Chibok in the news reporting of Helsingin Sanomat (HS). In April 2014, the extreme terrorist organization Boko Haram abducted a total of 276 girls from the Chibok secondary school in Nigeria. The case gained much international publicity, and it is the most well-known of the many attacks made by Boko Haram since it started its violent attacks in 2009. As such, the case also redirected attention from the other abductions and violent attacks done later by Boko Haram in Nigeria, many with many more victims. The case of the Chibok girls can also be addressed as a case reflecting religion-related terrorism and its connectedness to a wartime situation, abductions and gender-based sexual violence towards women and girls.

This study aims to show how HS reported and framed the case of the Chibok girls, and what kind of frame building patterns can be found in the news in general. HS is the biggest Finnish daily newspaper, aimed at Finnish readers, and it also has resources for covering foreign news reporting.² As such, HS news also reflect the foreign news transmission procedures in a Finnish newspaper.

The study is a qualitative text analysis to identify the frame building patterns such as sourcing and quoting patterns of the news texts and, inductively the dominant frame themes found in the news texts. The news texts form a database where the texts are categorized by the sources, source types, quotes, quote types and frame theme types. The original news items are written in Finnish.

¹ Uwazuruike 2018, 70.

² Media Audit Finland 2019.

For this study I picked a total of 336 texts between April 2014 and December 2018, containing combinations of the words (in Finnish) “Nigeria”, “Boko Haram” and “schoolgirls” from the HS online news archive. From this data I selected those which contained at least one reference to the Chibok schoolgirls case. The selected news items were then marked with ID numbers from N1 to N125. However, after excluding overlapping duplicates the final number ended up to be 105 news articles.

To identify the source and quoting patterns and recurring themes I categorized the news sources and referred quotes from the texts. The texts included 196 mentions of 41 different reference sources which were then categorized into nine *source type categories*. While each of the source types was only counted once per an individual news item, the total number of source types ended up to be 146.

The next phase was to handpick the direct or referred quotes from the news. The total of 458 quotes were sorted into seven *quote type categories*, some of which contain subcategories. The number of quotes was reduced to 211 by referring to a quote category only once per individual news item.

The last phase was to identify and generate *recurring frame themes* present in the news texts paragraphs.³ The recognized frame theme categories, 12 in total, were then categorized into four *main frame groups*: 1) Understanding the circumstances, 2) Government inactivity and politics, 3) Terrorism and violence and, 4) Community and compassion. These main groups also form the basis for the content analysis of the news data in this study and some attention is paid to the subcategories as well.

My research questions in this study are:

Research question 1: What are the sourcing and quoting patterns used in the HS about the Chibok schoolgirls abduction case? Where is the information from and who are the ones commenting on the subject?

Research question 2: What kind of frame themes can be constructed from the news about Chibok girls? How do the frames emphasize (or ignore) different aspects of the subject?

The structure of this thesis consists of four main themes that are meant to provide the reader with a concise understanding of each of the themes. The first

³ In this study I chose a paragraph as an interpretative entity. In a news texts, a paragraph usually contains only one topic.

section focuses on mapping the case in the Nigerian context and provide information to understand the Nigerian situation with regard to its historical background, the rise of Boko Haram, and the case of the abducted Chibok girls. This case has been the most well-known attack of the many made by Boko Haram since it started its violence in 2009. In this part I refer to several reports, news, and studies about Nigeria, and the rise of the insurgency of Boko Haram. Especially the various reports by human rights organizations, such as Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, and individual researchers, focus on the perspective of the victims of Boko Haram.⁴

The second part focuses on the theoretical frameworks I have used in this study. News framing theory, originally presented by Erwin Goffman, is an appropriate tool in studying media content dealing with terrorism.⁵ I also have used the publications of Scheufele, Tewksbury and Moy to complement the interpretation of the framing theory of media effects, and the publications of Uwazuruike and Lipschulz on applying framing theory in their studies of terrorism.⁶ In media research the concept of framing is an approach to understand the function of news production in particular. While the case consists of foreign news, there is also a brief reference to the theory of newsworthiness (or news value theory) to give a perspective to the factors that lie behind the topics to be selected as news.⁷ Newsworthiness is related to understanding the process of foreign news production. In this study I also refer to Abubakar's study of violent extremism and news criteria in the Nigerian context.⁸

In the second part I also address studies on the foreign news transmission process in the Finnish media context which has been studied by Kivikuru, Pietiläinen and Rantanen, and later by Uskali.⁹ These studies also reveal the uses of news agencies in the media content production process. In the second part I also elaborate on the relation between media and terrorism after the 9/11 attacks in the U.S.¹⁰ This relation is twofold: terrorists need media for conveying information about their attacks, and correspondingly, their attacks serve as

⁴ Pearson 2018.

⁵ Goffman 1986; Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007.

⁶ Scheufele 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007; Moy & Tewksbury 2019; Uwazuruike 2018 & 2018b; Lipschulz 2007.

⁷ The theory of newsworthiness was first presented by Galtung & Ruge 1965.

⁸ Abubakar 2020.

⁹ Kivikuru & Pietiläinen 1998; Rantanen 1998; Uskali 2007.

¹⁰ Zelizer & Allan 2011 & 2011b.

material for the news media and its audiences. For this end, I also elaborate on the relation between terrorism and media in one chapter and refer to several studies that address, for example, terrorism related victims, and compassion.

The third part of this study focuses on terrorism and its victims, and its relation to wartime violence. One perspective to violence is the concept of abduction. This part of the study also includes references to the theme of conflict-related sexual violence and gender, also in the media context.¹¹

In the fourth part I implement the concepts of sourcing, quoting and framing - from the frame building perspective - to the selected HS news data. The last chapter consists of reflecting the findings of the data analysis and conclusions.

There are many restrictions in the interpretative process. The data I have used is media material and as such, the material already represents many levels of preselection and interpretation of the events and their consequences. As the study shows, the news data is largely based on material produced by news agencies or earlier material published in other international media. Focusing only on the texts of the data does not take into account the perspective of interlinked media contents and the importance of visual materials, like photos and videos. The visual elements contain a multitude of relevant information for the interpretation of media content.¹²

Also, the interpretative process of recognizing the frames of the news paragraphs is subjective and based on my own interpretation of the news content.

¹¹ Höjjer 2004.

¹² Lipschulz 2007, 33.

2 Mapping the case

To understand the rise of Boko Haram one must first understand the contexts of its insurgency. This chapter concentrates on giving the background information about Nigeria and its history as well as the context for the rise of Boko Haram and the case of the abducted Chibok girls.

2.1 Mapping Nigeria

Nigeria is a country of contradictions. It has rich natural resources like oil, and subsequently oil-related industries, but the state of social welfare in the country is poor. This sub-Saharan country is the most populous in Africa with 195.9 million inhabitants.¹³ According to the World Population Prospect 2015 drafted by the UN, Nigeria's population will exceed that of the United States by 2050.¹⁴ Life expectancy in Nigeria is low: 55 years for men and 56 years for women.¹⁵ Over half of the population is under 30 years of age.¹⁶

Nigeria is also the third biggest and fastest growing economy in Africa and from this perspective it also attracts investors. However, issues with security, poor infrastructure and continuous power struggles in the country slow down economic development and curb foreign investments in the country.¹⁷

The country has suffered from longstanding ethnic and religious tensions. The different religious groups have been involved in the conflicts, and especially since 2002 the extreme Sunni Muslim group Boko Haram has entered the picture. The country is roughly divided to the South with a Christian majority and to the North where most of the Muslims live, but, according to the Nigerian Constitution, the country is a democratic secular State and it does not have any State religions¹⁸.

According to a CNN analysis,¹⁹ in the Northern Nigeria region unemployment is pervasive and the government is not able to provide security, education, nor functioning infrastructure. Several sources confirm that the state authorities themselves have been involved in several acts of violence, thereby

¹³ UNDR 2019.

¹⁴ MDG 2015.

¹⁵ WHO 2016.

¹⁶ WFP 2020.

¹⁷ BBC 2020b.

¹⁸ Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1999.

¹⁹ CNN 2014.

violating the international human rights principles.²⁰ Nigeria ranks 158th of the total 189 countries in the Human Development Index.²¹

Nigeria is a country of contradiction in the sense of conflict resolution as well. The country's historical development has been unstable, but, since gaining its independence 1960, it has been involved in conflict resolution processes in various parts in Africa and more widely in the world as well. Work for world peace has been a pillar of Nigeria's foreign policy objectives.²² Africa in general is known to be one of the most conflict-ridden regions in the world. Most of the conflicts are arms-driven and according to estimations the causes of these conflicts have a socio-economic background.²³

Nigeria is a former British colony dating back to the early 19th century. In the first half of the 20th century, the British government repeatedly attempted to unify the big country into one nation, but the various Nigerian tribes with their historically different ethnic backgrounds, traditions and religions did not show any willingness to unite. The history of the British rule still bears its mark in the current political, economic and social structures. Despite the past, colonialism is not the cause of the current crisis that has deep roots in the ethno-religious history of the country.²⁴

In his book *Nation as Grand Narrative* Wale Adebani²⁵ writes about the ethno-religious competition and rivalries in the northern part of the country. One example of this tension dates back to the beginning of the 19th century when the dominant ethnic and largely "pagan" group Hausa was conquered by the Fulanis during the jihad in 1804. After their defeat, the Hausas largely adopted Islam, the religion of the Fulanis, as their religion and the Fulani conquerors adopted the Hausa language. These two groups became intertwined and formed a group called Hausa-Fulani, and the Hausa language became the lingua franca in the northern parts of the country. The Hausa-Fulani group also sought to incorporate smaller, especially non-Muslim ethnic groups to their culture and Islam, but there are still counterhegemonic challenges in the area. During the years of conflict, also

²⁰ Amnesty International 2014.

²¹ UNDP 2019.

²² Dokubo & Oluwadare 2011.

²³ Dokubo & Oluwadare 2011.

²⁴ Adebani 2016.

²⁵ Adebani 2016.

minority ethno-religious groups that were not directly involved in the main crises were attacked and brought into it.

In Nigeria the ethnicity and religion are also connected to the land ownerships, politics and distribution of resources, and this differentiation is grounded in the national law as well. Kwaja in his document writes how the “original” inhabitants of a local government area, or members of ethnic groups in Nigeria have certain “indigeneship certificates” that have an impact in many day-to-day situations in the country. The historic background of the distribution of this certificate lies originally in the minority groups’ concern that their traditional customs and authority structures are eroded by the overwhelmingly larger ethnic and religious groups. In practise the certificate indicates who is a native inhabitant of a particular location and, by extension, also who can participate in politics, own land or obtain a job. The others are considered as migrants or “settlers”. The Nigerian constitution as well as the Federal Character Commission, which is a statutory institution to ensure the distribution of equities and political power, also recognizes the validity of this certificate. However, as Chris Kwaja notes, the definition of the indigeneship and issuing the certificates has been extraordinarily arbitrary and it has also contributed to the tension and conflicts that have emerged in between different groups.²⁶

Against this background, the roots of the Nigerian crises – although it from the general perspective is polarized on the relation between North and South, and the Muslims and the Christians – have been more about who the dominant and the dominated ethnic groups are. In his book Adebaniwi describes how this political, cultural, economic and religious domination interconnects with the economic inequality in the northern parts of Nigeria.²⁷

Northern Nigeria is predominately Muslim, with substantial Christian minorities in several states. Nigerian Islam is formed of several distinct Sufi orders, small Shi’a communities, and Salafi interpretations of Islam which is reflected in various movements. The best known of the radical Islamic movements in the country is Boko Haram. Christian denominations include Catholics (1/4 of Christians), Anglicans and other Protestants, African Initiated Churches, and decentralized Pentecostal churches (“born agains”), whose numbers have shown remarkable growth. The extremist views among some churches and leaders are

²⁶ Kwaja 2011.

²⁷ Adebaniwi 2016, 12–16, 234–237.

quite common. Traditional religious beliefs are weak in numbers, partly because of their adhesion to Christianity or Islam. There also are small communities of other global religious traditions like Hindu, Baha'i, and Buddhist.²⁸

Of the 374 ethnic groups in Nigeria the three largest groups constitute more than half of Nigeria's entire population; Hausa-Fulani in the North (29%), Yoruba in the Southwest (21%) and Igbo in the Southeast (18%). The eight largest groups are almost a two third of the population and the other ethnic groups fit into the minority category. The Hausa-Fulani and other communities in Northern Nigeria are mainly Muslim and, the southern minorities and Igbo speaking areas in the Southeast are predominantly Christian. The North-central zone of Nigeria is a mixture of Christian and Muslim populations. The Yoruba-speaking communities in the Southwest are divided to about half and half Muslims and Christians.²⁹

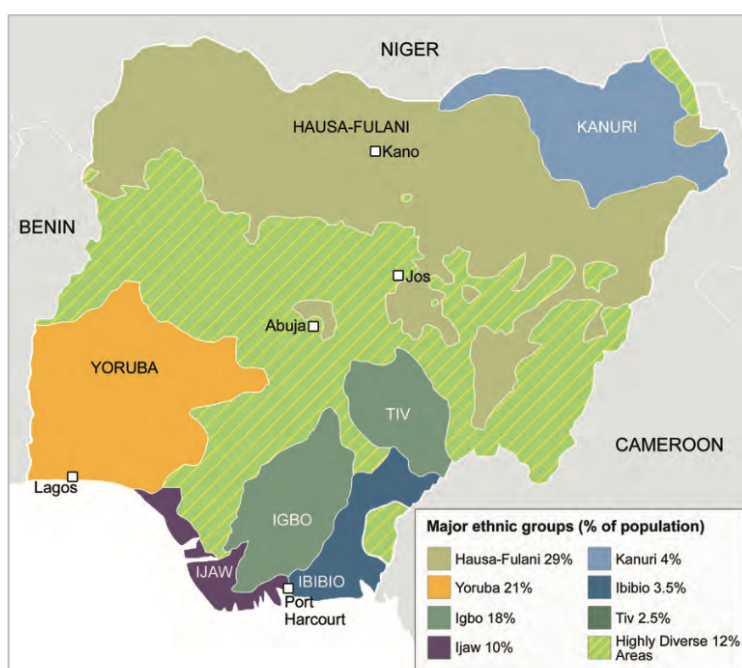


Figure 1. Nigeria's ethnic and religious diversity. Source: Kwaja 2011, based on Ulrich Lamm.

The other ethnic groups belong to the minorities. The largest minority groups are the Ijaw, Kanuri, Edo, Ibibio, Nupe, Igala, Berom, Kambari, Ekoi, and the Tiv (Figure 1). About 50 per cent of these ethnic minorities, 170 million in total, are Muslims, and of the estimated share of Christians is 40 per cent.³⁰

Nigeria declared its independency from the United Kingdom in 1960, but the cultural and political differences between the main ethnic groups led the country into civil war during 1967 – 1970. Military juntas and dictators governed

²⁸ WFDD 2018.

²⁹ Okpanachi 2012.

³⁰ Salaam 2012.

the country until the democratic development in 1999. The history in the country seems to be full of violent conflicts and instability between different religious and ethnic groups. The conflicts have had an impact on the later development in the country and they have also affected the foreign relations and economic development of Nigeria.³¹

Washington Post's headline on May 10, 2015 "The Nigerian military is so broken, its soldiers are refusing to fight"³² is telling of the situation of the military forces in the country. According to the article, joining the battles equals to committing suicide, and several soldiers have refused to join the battles – and some have even been sentenced to death due to refusal to fight.³³

The article states that Nigeria's defence budget is among the biggest in Sub-Saharan Africa but much of it is lost to corruption.³⁴ According to Amnesty International, the military and defence budget in Nigeria has increased massively since the beginning of the Nigeria's Northeast conflict in 1999. However, the money has not reached the frontline, the government's operations have remained under-resourced and corruption is prevalent.³⁵

The armed military forces play a significant role as a national institution, but they lack investments in training, maintaining equipment and cooperation with Western forces.³⁶

Amnesty International has published a report concerning the war crimes committed by the Nigerian military forces. According to the report, by 2015 these forces had executed more than 1,200 people and arrested at least 20,000 people.³⁷ Countless cases demonstrate the continuing use of torture in Nigeria, not only by the government forces including the police, but by Boko Haram as well.³⁸

Most of the arrested have been men and boys. Amnesty International's report is based on more than 412 interviews of victims, eyewitnesses, journalists and military officials, and more than 800 official documents. It also reveals that

³¹ Okpanachi 2012.

³² Washington Post 2015.

³³ See N72 (December 18, 2014). The Nigerian army field court condemned 54 soldiers to death because they refused to fight against Boko Haram. The soldiers said they did not have sufficient armament. against the heavily armed Boko Haram forces.

³⁴ Global security 2015.

³⁵ Amnesty International 2015.

³⁶ Global security 2015b.

³⁷ Amnesty International 2015.

³⁸ According to Amnesty International's report (2014) torture and ill-treatment are a routine in police investigations across Nigeria, as is raping women, especially sex workers. Torture is also one of the means for Boko Haram to cause fear within their area of operations.

hundreds or even thousands of Nigerians have enforcedly disappeared and at least 7,000 people have died in military detention due to starvation, or as result of inadequate medical assistance.³⁹

2.2 The background behind the rise of Boko Haram

The rise of military terrorist sect Boko Haram, especially in the Northeast areas of Nigeria, has been one of the main drivers of the instability in the country in the 2000's. As noted earlier, Boko Haram is not the only cause of conflicts, but the unstable situation has been formed of a complex web of socio-cultural, economic, ethno-religious and regional elements. There is a plethora of violent acts caused by corruption, religious and ethnic issues, and politics, as well as an inability to implement laws to ensure national development.⁴⁰

In their article, Mohammed Suleiman and Mohammed Karim⁴¹ have studied the different factors behind the rise of Boko Haram in Nigeria. They refer to a study by Salaam⁴² that states that the disparity of the northern and southern regions has played a major role in the rise of militant groups; the northern part of the country has remained a backward in Western education both before and after Nigeria gained its independence from the United Kingdom. The study states that in the northern part of the country Western education was considered a tool used by Christian missionaries, and this stance has continued until current times. They also state that this gap is growing wider as the population increases. However, in addition to Boko Haram, numerous sects have emerged in Northern Nigeria following the independence of the country. Alongside religious differences and rivalry of the various religious sects, the worsening socio-economic situation, poverty and unemployment, as well as poor governance and pervasive corruption in public governance, have been major triggers for the rise of Boko Haram. In this sense, instead of the religion, the level of social injustice has been the major reason for the rise of this extreme Islamic movement.⁴³

Boko Haram's attacks have been targeted at Christians, students, traditional leaders, Muslims who oppose their activities, and civil servants and their family

³⁹ Amnesty International 2015. The report tells about extrajudicial executions of which one took place in 14.3.2014, when the military killed at least 640 men and boys, mostly recaptured detainees. In another execution in March 2014, the military killed at least 622 people.

⁴⁰ Hassan et al. 2016, 427.

⁴¹ Suleiman & Karim 2015.

⁴² Salaam 2012.

⁴³ Suleiman & Karim 2015.

members. Boko Haram's attacks have been unpredictable, and they also have burned numerous churches, some with worshippers trapped inside, killed men who refused to convert to Islam, and abducted Christian women.⁴⁴

The publicly announced, ultimate objective of Boko Haram has been the establishment of an Islamic State under the Sharia law in Nigeria, and the group uses religion as its ideology, declaring themselves to have the true interpretation of the Islamic faith. They also use religion as an instrument for recruiting new soldiers, to legitimise extreme violence, and as a criterion to select the targets of their attacks.⁴⁵

Contrary to the Islamic State (ISIS) in Iraq and Syria with infrastructure, urban centres and territories under its governance for sustained period, Boko Haram has not implemented long-term governance systems, nor has it held territories long-term.⁴⁶ Although Maiduguri⁴⁷, the capital of Borno State, has been near occupation by Boko Haram, and with the group controlling a large territory in Borno, the extremist group has not been able to establish itself in an urban centre. The city of Maiduguri has been "ground zero" for Boko Haram. It is where the movement was founded, and where its founder Mohammed Yusuf was killed by the police 2009. Boko Haram has occupied territories in the neighbourhood, but it is unclear to which extent it governs the territory. Its insurgency has also destroyed infrastructure.⁴⁸

According to Greg H. Ezeah and Nathan O. Emmanuel,⁴⁹ it's not clear how and who started Boko Haram's operations in 2002. However, Uwazuruike⁵⁰, admitting that the origins of the group are not clear, refers to claims that the group was founded as a non-violent socio-religious movement already in 1995. At that time its name was Ahl al-Sunna wa Jama'a al-Hijra (People Committed to Hijra and the Prophet's Teachings).

⁴⁴ HRW 2012.

⁴⁵ Brinkel & Ait-Hida 2014.

⁴⁶ Pearson 2018, 49.

⁴⁷ Campbell 2020a. Maiduguri is also the residence of the Shehu of Borno, one of Nigeria's most important traditional Islamic religious rulers. The city is located on the main Muslim pilgrimage route (Hajj) from Senegal from the Western Africa to Mecca. The city is a trading center of agriculture and cattle. Due to the poverty of the area Maiduguri is sometimes called "the beggar maker." Also see Los Angeles Times 2014.

⁴⁸ Campbell 2020b. According to this blog, posted in January 2020, locals are afraid that Boko Haram will isolate Maiduguri and Borno state areas from the rest of Nigeria.

⁴⁹ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

⁵⁰ Uwazuruike 2018b, 20.

Human Rights Watch⁵¹ reports about a group of about 200 people including university students and unemployed youth who migrated to Yobe state in Northeastern Nigeria to set up a camp. The name of the group in Arabic is “Jama’atu Ahlis Sunna Lidda’awati wal-Jihad”, which means “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad”⁵². HRW⁵³ reports how the group “sought to withdraw from the “corrupt,” “sinful,” and “unjust” secular state of Nigeria and form a new community based on Islamic law”. HRW describes in more detail the early stages and attacks of the group, also called the Nigerian Talebans, since 2003.

Uwazuruike describes how after the death of its early leader Mohammed Ali in a shootout in 2003 the leadership was passed on to Mohammed Yusuf and how the group then, according to its leader’s name, was called Yusufiya (the followers of Yusuf). Many also refer to Mohammed Yusuf as the first leader of Boko Haram. This is possibly because of the group’s recruitment efforts and its expansion to the Northeast under Yusuf’s leadership.⁵⁴

The popular name Boko Haram, roughly meaning “Western education is forbidden”⁵⁵, was given to the group by residents in the city of Maiduguri in Northeastern Nigeria and the name was popularized by local and foreign press. The group represents a version of Islam that forbids Muslims from taking part in

⁵¹ Human Rights Watch 2012.

⁵² Abubakar (2020, 280) explains that Boko Haram’s actual name is Jama’atu Ahlus Sunna lid Da’awatu wal-Jihad which is translated to approximately “Movement for the Propagation and Enthronement of Righteous Deeds”. Human Rights Watch (2014) explains the formal name Jama’atu Ahlus-Sunnah Lidda’Awati Wal Jihad’ to mean “People Committed to the Propagation of the Prophet’s Teachings and Jihad.” According to HRW “Boko” in Hausa means “Western education” or “Western influence” and “haram” in Arabic means “sinful” or “forbidden.” Uwazuruike (2018b, 18) also refers to a translation “Movement for the Propagation of Tradition and Struggle”. He writes that the group has also operated under the names Ahlusunna wal’ Jamma Hijra, the Nigerian Taliban, and the Yusufiyya.

⁵³ Human Rights Watch 2012.

⁵⁴ Uwazuruike 2018b, 18.

⁵⁵ There are other translations of Boko Haram as well. Human Rights Watch explains the Hausa term to be derived from one of Yusuf’s main teachings that asserts that Western-style education (boko) is religiously forbidden (haram) under Islam. Thurston (2013) elaborates the etymology in wider cultural and linguistic context in his blog text. He writes that there is some debate about the etymology of the word “Boko”, which can certainly mean “Western education” but also refer to the Romanized Hausa script. If the word is understood as a corruption of the English word “book,” it links it strongly to educational contexts. On the other hand, in Hausa context the word means fake or deceitful, and it appears in contexts other than just education. Thurston sums up that Boko Haram means something like, “Western culture is Islamically forbidden” or “the Westernized elites and their way of doing things contradict Islam.” He also recalls that “in addition to attacking Western education, Yusuf also forbade Muslims from working for secular governments.”

education or social activities that are associated with Western ideology or influence.⁵⁶

The leader of Boko Haram Mohammed Yusuf founded an Islamic school in which Muslim parents from both Nigeria and the neighbouring countries enrolled their children. In addition to regular Islamic education, Boko Haram also specialized in military training that revealed the political goals of the group to establish an Islamic State in Nigeria.⁵⁷ The group later changed its name to Islamic State's West Africa Province (ISWAP) and became an affiliate of the Islamic State, IS, also known as ISIS.⁵⁸

The larger-scale armed conflicts in Northeast Nigeria date back to 2009 when Boko Haram started a violent campaign against the Nigerian Government. Five days of violent battles in July 2009 between the group and security forces ended in execution-style killings by both sides and caused the death of more than 800 people in the Borno, Bauchi, Yobe, and Kano states, including the group's leader Mohammed Yusuf.⁵⁹ During the conflict both parties committed serious violations. The situation has developed to a domestic conflict partly due to Boko Haram's well-organized force, recruitment, command structure and controlled territory.⁶⁰ After the death of Yusuf, Boko Haram adopted Yusuf's deputy Abu Mohammad Abubakar ibn Mohammad al-Shakwi, better known as Abubakar Shekau, as its new leader.⁶¹

Why do young men join Boko Haram in Nigeria? Understanding youth radicalization and religious extremism requires understanding the underlying drivers. In a situation where the state is not able to provide security, reliable infrastructure or public services, terrorist forces with economic resources and support from external jihadists (ISIS in the case of Boko Haram) and weapons attract young, uneducated and unemployed men in an unstable situation.⁶²

Factors that drive radicalization in Northern Nigeria also include the ignorance of "true" teaching of religion, which provides the youth with radical or distorted views of religion. The poverty as well as socio-cultural factors like poor

⁵⁶ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

⁵⁷ Ayoola & Olaosun 2014, 50.

⁵⁸ Mapping Militant Organizations 2018; Pearson 2018.

⁵⁹ Human Rights Watch 2012; Uwazuruike 2018b, 18.

⁶⁰ Amnesty International 2015. However, the later development of Boko Haram shown less organized and fragmented structure, see Pearson 2018.

⁶¹ Uwazuruike 2018b, 21.

⁶² Lister 2014.

upbringing and neglect of children enhance the vulnerability of young people and make them targets of recruitment by extremist terrorist groups.⁶³ On the other hand, the absence of protective factors make young people, who are trying to find answers to the inadequacies in the society, turn to religious radicalism.⁶⁴

Human Rights Watch also describes how boys are often given the option of joining or getting killed, and how some men are targets of abduction because of their special skills or occupation.⁶⁵ There are also several cases where Boko Haram has kidnapped young men.⁶⁶

In their study Anneli Botha and Mahdi Abdile⁶⁷ found out that there are various reasons for individuals to join Boko Haram. Botha and Abdile interviewed a total of 119 former Boko Haram fighters in IDP camps and 60 peace builders from non-governmental organizations (NGO) and included a citizen survey of 1607 respondents in the study. While the peacebuilders in institutions working towards peace consider religion to be the most prominent reason (82%) to join the group, and in the citizen survey the same perception was shared by 54,1%, only 9,2% of Boko Haram respondents identified religion to have been the main reason in joining the group.

The study revealed that economic reasons like the lack of employment opportunities coupled with the lack of education were the key factors in creating frustration that had an impact on people's decision to join Boko Haram. Other reasons for joining Boko Haram were the need to be respected (23,0%) and the need to belong (16,8%). Instead, 57% of former Boko Haram fighters identified revenge directed at the state and the security forces as a strong or being the only factor for joining the movement.⁶⁸

Against the perception that the madrassas⁶⁹, religious schools and mosques are the venues where people are radicalized and recruited to Boko Haram, the

⁶³ Cleen Foundation 2014.

⁶⁴ Salaam 2012.

⁶⁵ HRW 2014, 24–25.

⁶⁶ ACLED 2020. The data collected by ACLED (Armed Conflict Location & Event Data Project) consist of information about political violence, protests, groups involved in the conflicts and fatalities. In most of the cases there is a short description about the victims in case.

⁶⁷ Botha & Abdile 2016.

⁶⁸ Botha & Abdile 2016.

⁶⁹ Salaam (2012, 152) describes the historic madrassas systems in his article. He also emphasizes the educational disparities between the Northern and Southern Nigeria and says that it can be traced to the pre-independence and colonial era. Muslims, who dominated the northern country, repelled the Western education because it was perceived as a tool of evangelism by the Christian missionaries. In the southern parts where Western education was embraced, also considerable progress was made in terms of civilization. He writes that many northern Muslims retained the

study indicated that the first introduction to Boko Haram was through friends and family, people close to them. Only 14,3% of the former Boko Haram fighters indicated mosques as venues of recruitment and 12,6% of the respondents mentioned madrassas.⁷⁰

The fear of retribution has prevented local people from publicly resisting Boko Haram terrorism or the girls who have escaped Boko Haram's imprisonment to openly discuss what has happened to them. Tens of thousands of civilians have fled to neighbouring countries Chad, Cameroon and Niger for the fear of Boko Haram.⁷¹ On the other hand, local women have also been reported to be among the early supporters of Boko Haram. This is partly due to the religious ideology Boko Haram represents, where the group offers a means to gain religious knowledge, or due to the set-up where men are the frontline fighters and women are reported to be mostly in organizational roles, like recruitment of new members or spying.⁷² However, the study of former Boko Haram members revealed that women also worked as soldiers, recruiters and handled explosives.⁷³

The Nigerian government has declared several states of emergency in some provinces due to Boko Haram's violent attacks. The most well-known of their violent attacks was the abduction of over 300 Chibok schoolgirls in April 2014.⁷⁴ In 2020, more than 100 of these girls are still in the hands of their kidnappers despite the domestic and international attempts to influence the Nigerian government to get them free. At least the US, UK and France have helped Nigerian military forces in their attempts to fight Boko Haram.⁷⁵ The abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls and the wide international media publicity also helped Boko Haram and its leader Abubakar Shekau to legitimize its use of gender-based

fondness for the traditional religious schools called 'almajiri', which term describes to someone who leaves home in search of knowledge or for the sake of advocating Islamic knowledge. This type of traditional religious education, also known as "madrassas", is common in Northern Nigeria, where young boys are sent to study the Quran and Islamic religion in makeshift tents, under trees, or on mosque verandas. Their teachers "mallams" may be responsible for between 50 and 100 children with the youngest being as young as five years old. When there is not a formal system to care about the children, these children tend to end up on the streets as beggars and they also easy targets for anyone who is willing to provide care for them. In this sense the "almajiris" have evolved to serve as potential recruitment and indoctrination mechanism for Islamic extremists. Salaam also refers a popular poem that describes the perception of Western education as infidel: "Yan makarantan Boko (Oh you pupils of Western schools) / Ba Karatu ba Sallah (You neither read Qur'an nor pray) / Sai yawan zagin Mallam (Save continuous abuse of your teacher).

⁷⁰ Botha & Abdile 2016.

⁷¹ Lister 2014.

⁷² Pearson 2018.

⁷³ Botha & Abdile 2016.

⁷⁴ Mapping Militant Organizations.

⁷⁵ BBC 2020b.

violence (GBV) on both Christian and Muslim women in Northeastern Nigeria and later female suicide bombers. Boko Haram, like the Islamic State ISIS, abuses women and uses its interpretation of Islamic theology to justify this violence.⁷⁶

Boko Haram's actions have resulted in unmeasurable human suffering, thousands of deaths, injuries and forced displacements.⁷⁷ Over 100,000 refugees have fled from Northeastern Nigeria to neighbouring countries.⁷⁸ According to OCHA,⁷⁹ more than 27,000 people have been killed. Almost 1.8 million people in the northeastern part of the country live in camps for internally displaced people (IDP), 80 percent of them women and girls. More than 7 million people depend on the urgent humanitarian aid by the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) and its partners.⁸⁰

The battles and violent actions have caused insecurity that has a wider impact on the livelihoods of communities in the region. The fear of violence prevents the farmers from cultivating their fields and the locals from running their businesses. The aid organizations have not been safe from the attacks either.⁸¹

Boko Haram has changed its modes of action during the years. In his dissertation Uwazuruike refers to a study on the four-stage evolution of Boko Haram from missionary activism to transnational violence: 1) substate missionary activism, 2) substate jihadist and an al-Qaeda connection, 3) nationalist jihadist and al-Qaeda affiliation, and 4) transnational jihadism and integration into AQIM (Al-Qaeda in the Islamic Maghreb) and ISIS.⁸²

According to HRW it seems that until 2013 Boko Haram did not appear to target women and girls specifically, but instead assaulted primarily the perceived unjust and corrupted system and its representatives like security services, police forces, politicians and civil servants. Schools and students became its targets in early 2012.⁸³ Boko Haram now frequently uses teenage female suicide bombers, many of whom are abducted girls, including the Chibok girls. Boko Haram has also used the girls as bargaining chips in negotiations with authorities to set their own imprisoned members free.⁸⁴

⁷⁶ Pearson 2018.

⁷⁷ Amnesty International 2014.

⁷⁸ Nigeria 2014 Human Rights Report.

⁷⁹ UNOCHA 2020.

⁸⁰ WHO 2018.

⁸¹ UNOCHA 2020b.

⁸² Uwazuruike 2018b, 19.

⁸³ HRW 2104.

⁸⁴ Hassan et al 2016, 428.

The emigration of civilians is just one factor to show that the actions of Boko Haram are not of a concern of Nigeria only. As ACLED data shows, suicide bombings and other attacks by Boko Haram have caused deaths also in Cameroon, Chad, and Niger.⁸⁵ According to a report of Combating Terrorism Center, Boko Haram used women suicide bombers the first time in June 2014, in an attack on military barracks in Gombe State, Nigeria.⁸⁶ By March 2018, a total of 469 female suicide bombers have been deployed or arrested in 240 incidents in Nigeria and its neighbour countries. In these incidents more than 1,200 people have been killed and more than 3,000 people have been injured. Using female suicide bombing has been a terrorist tactic for creating fear, killing civilians, sending a symbolic message to diverse audiences, and asserting power over governments and communities. It seems, however, that Boko Haram has not used female suicide bombers as “willing martyrs”.⁸⁷

Figure 2 shows the number of deaths by states, totalling to almost 29 thousand in Nigeria during 2011–2019. Northeastern Borno state is the epicentre of Boko Haram’s violence.

Map: Deaths by State

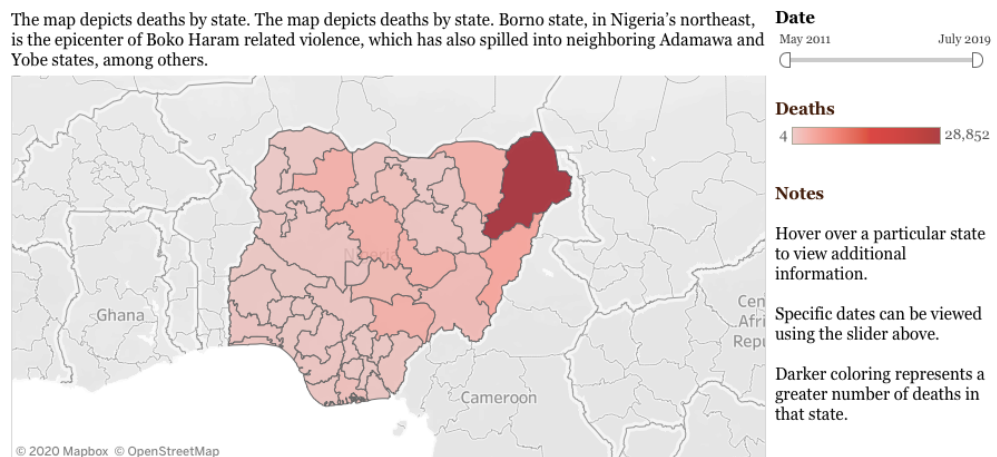


Figure 2. A screenshot from *The Nigeria Security Tracker (NST)* showing the deaths by states, totalling to almost 29,000 in Nigeria 2011–2019.

According to Reuters,⁸⁸ Boko Haram has been losing its territories due to counter-attacks by the Nigerian army and its allies from the neighbour countries Chad, Cameroon, Benin and Niger. Although fighting the unstable terrorist group

⁸⁵ ACLED 2020.

⁸⁶ Pearson 2018.

⁸⁷ Pearson 2018, 42–43. In her article she also refers to UNICEF that suggest the number of child suicide bombers to be 20% of the total bombers and of these 75% are female. According to some stories parents also “donate” girls to Boko Haram.

⁸⁸ Reuters 2015.

is a mutual target, cooperation between the countries is not self-evident. Each of the neighbouring countries also tries to prevent Boko Haram from entering their territories. Fighting terrorism also means crossing the borders in the sparsely populated, rural and rough area, which requires bilateral negotiations and mediation attempts.

However, in Boko Haram's areas of operation the territories of ethnic groups are not aligned with national borders which were drawn up during the era of colonial rule by European states.⁸⁹

In 2019 Nigeria ranked third in the Global Terrorism Index. According to this report Boko Haram's sala-jihadi insurgency has led to 35,000 combat-related deaths and 18,000 deaths from terrorism since 2011 in the Lake Chad Basin region. The report also states that the profile of Boko Haram differs from the other terrorist groups because of the high proportions of women and children; two-thirds of the suicide bombers are female, and of these one in three is a child.⁹⁰

The group has split to multiple factions due to internal rifts. The two main factions are ISWAP (ISIL-aligned Islamic State West African Province), led by Musab al-Barnawi, and the followers of Abubakar Shekau. Both factions are targeting attacks against the Nigerian government. The followers of Shekau also are targeting all Muslims who do not follow Shekau.⁹¹

2.3 The case of the Chibok girls

On April 15, 2014 a total of 276 schoolgirls who were taking their final West African School Certificate examinations⁹² were kidnapped from the Chibok Government Secondary School in Borno State, Nigeria. The kidnappers, who were fighters of the Islamic terrorist group Boko Haram, took the girls with trucks to a forest area where the terrorists had set up their camps.⁹³

Chibok has been presented as a Christian town. After the abduction Shekau, the leader of Boko Haram, claimed on a video that the abducted schoolgirls were Christians who later converted to Islam and were married off. This kind of statement also reflected the religious undertones in the news reporting on Boko

⁸⁹ N84 (February 25, 2015).

⁹⁰ Global Terrorism Index 2019.

⁹¹ Global Terrorism Index 2019.

⁹² Waec Nigeria.

⁹³ Daily Mail 2014.

Haram's attack.⁹⁴ Other sources, including the Christian Association of Nigeria (CAN), confirmed that 90% of the girls were Christians.⁹⁵

The Chibok school attack and the abduction of the girls were not the first ones carried out by Boko Haram. Just some weeks before the Chibok attack Boko Haram had attacked a school in the northeastern village of Buni Yadi. There they allowed the female students to flee, but slaughtered more than 40 boys in their dormitory. This attack gained only little media attention.⁹⁶ Boko Haram's first abduction of a larger group of women and girls took place in June 2013 from police barracks in the town of Bama.⁹⁷

According to a local government official in Nigeria, the number of the kidnapped girls was at first reported to be about one hundred.⁹⁸ On the second day after the kidnapping, a local military representative stated that almost all the girls had been released.⁹⁹ The official information lacked reliability and the number varied depending on the source. According to a local police commissioner, just at the beginning of May 2014, a total of 329 girls between ages 16 to 18 were kidnapped and of them 53 succeeded in escaping at once.¹⁰⁰ During the attack, the terrorists also killed the school security guards and a police officer, and burned buildings.¹⁰¹ However, it has been alleged that there were many inaccuracies about the event and the delays of informing about it.¹⁰²

The kidnapping gained a lot of publicity in the news media in a matter of days. In addition to the exact number of the girls, many other facts concerning the case remained uncertain. Depending on the news source, the girls were reported to have been rescued and returned home,¹⁰³ forced to convert to Islam, to serve as cooks or sex slaves or, after having converted to Islam, been sold as wives for Boko Haram soldiers or to men in the neighbouring countries Cameroon and

⁹⁴ Uwazuruike 2018b, 37–38.

⁹⁵ Daily Post 2014.

⁹⁶ On 24.2.2014 Helsingin Sanomat published a news about the attack with a heading "Massacre in a Nigerian school" without a mention to the girls that had been let free. This previous attack to school was also referred in the first Helsingin Sanomat news about the Chibok school attack, but without a mention of the massacre, (N1).

⁹⁷ HRW 2014, 19. According to HRW (2014, 23) the relative easiness of the abduction of the Chibok girls emboldened Boko Haram to implement abductions elsewhere.

⁹⁸ Guardian 2014.

⁹⁹ Guardian 2014b.

¹⁰⁰ The Times 2014.

¹⁰¹ Guardian 2014.

¹⁰² Daily Post 2014.

¹⁰³ CNN 2014b.

Chad. The price of a bride was reported to be equivalent to 12 USD.¹⁰⁴ Some sources said the women and girls were kidnapped to be wives to soldiers who did not have enough money to pay for a bride.¹⁰⁵ On the other hand, Boko Haram fighters followed local traditions. Oirola in his article notes: “Insurgents who are marrying off prepubescent girls are not doing anything that the local population is not already familiar with.”¹⁰⁶

Information of the actions taken by the police and government representatives also varied a lot. For the locals in Nigeria it seemed that the military and the authorities could not prevent the attack, nor solve it, or protect the victims from violence.¹⁰⁷ The families of the missing girls started efforts to influence international human rights organisations, like the United Nations, and to attract international attention to the case to get help.¹⁰⁸ They held demonstrations and rallies, trying to make an impact that would lead to political or military actions against Boko Haram.

The missing girls also became a hot topic in social media discussions. One of the best-known social media campaigns has been the hashtag #BringBackOurGirls that first appeared on April 23, 2014 on Twitter. Since then, the campaign has grown to an international social media movement and, in 2014, the hashtag had been used more than 3.3 million times on Twitter only.¹⁰⁹ As an example, a tweet of the First Lady of the USA with a picture of her holding a paper with the words #BringBackOurGirls was retweeted over 57,000 times. There have also been rallies and demonstrations all over the world to raise awareness on the case. The still ongoing campaign also became a movement for politicians, celebrities and other observers to promote human rights, education for women, and to fight violence against women.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁴ Daily Mail 2014.

¹⁰⁵ CFC 2020. Kidnapping women and girls has been characteristic to Boko Haram’s and its later off-shoots since 2001. The Council on Foreign Relations CFR, an independent US based think tank reports that women are abducted as wives for Boko Haram’s fighters, who are often too poor to pay the bride price, but also as domestic or sexual slaves, and as suicide bombers. The report says that the total number of Boko Haram’s kidnapped victims is unclear, but it is counted in thousands. Bride-price, giving cash and gifts to a bride’s family before marriage, is a common but more and more criticized traditional custom in Nigeria and it also measures the monetary value of the bride. Also see Guardian 2019 and Voa News 2019.

¹⁰⁶ Oriola 2017.

¹⁰⁷ HRW 2014, 38.

¹⁰⁸ Newsweek 2015.

¹⁰⁹ Human Rights Watch 2014.

¹¹⁰ Loken 2014.

Several studies examined the #BringBackOurGirls campaign. In some them the type of agency the individual public reactions represent has been described as mere “clicktivism”, “slacktivism”, or “easy armchair activism”.¹¹¹ The argument is that sharing social media content is not a real act or participation, but just using technology to share content without being involved personally.¹¹² On the other hand, the massive media attention the case received put the Chibok girls in the centre of the conflict reporting regarding Boko Haram. It also became an indicator in the attempts to defeat Boko Haram. There have been other severe attacks made by Boko Haram, but they have not gained such wide international publicity as the Chibok schoolgirls’ abduction did. This also shows the relevance of the media in determining what is important in conflicts.¹¹³

The perspective of the victims of the Chibok attack and individual stories of the abducted girls have been documented in more details in the reports of Human Rights Watch, UNICEF and Amnesty International. The reports also state that the rape of Boko Haram abducted women and girls has been underreported due to the culture of silence, stigmatization and shame around sexual abuse in Nigeria’s conservative North.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Morozov 2009; Córdoba Hernández 2017; Ravanoglu 2017; Endong 2018.

¹¹² Córdoba Hernández 2017, 240.

¹¹³ Uwazuruike 2018b also notes that by 2015, the Nigerian military forces had rescued more than 700 women and children kidnapped by Boko Haram, but they were not prioritized like the Chibok schoolgirls. The Chibok girls also have a yearly commemoration unlike the Madalla Christmas Day bombing in 2011 or the Baga massacres in 2015 with an estimation of 2,000 deaths.

¹¹⁴ HRW 2014, 3.

3 Theoretical approach of the analysis

This chapter focuses on the theoretical frameworks of this study. There are three theoretical approaches explained with a reference to reporting terrorism and violent extremism: news framing theory, newsworthiness (or news value) theory, and the concept of foreign news transmission. The last part of this chapter describes the relation of media and terrorism, especially after the 9/11 attacks.

3.1 *Framing theory*

The news media has a significant role in influencing the audience's attitudes, cognition and behaviour. It also shapes the collective understanding of how we perceive and respond to media contents¹¹⁵, or events outside our own experiences. In media research the concept of framing is an approach to understand production, content and the possible influence of media, and due to this, framing the news should be seen more as a function of news processes.¹¹⁶

The theory of framing¹¹⁷ - or framing analysis - was first presented by Erwin Goffman¹¹⁸. He assumed that an individual cannot understand the world, and constantly struggles in trying to make sense of the world around. According to the theory we tend to interpret our perceptions, as well as events, within some primary frameworks. These primary frameworks may be socially and culturally constructed belief systems or ideologies, and they offer us a perspective to interpret and understand or to approach the perception. As Goffman writes, all the social frameworks involve rules which vary depending on the context.¹¹⁹ Through these "primary frameworks" an individual can process and interpret the information meaningfully.¹²⁰

In media effect research framing represents social constructivism where media sets the frames that the public uses in interpreting and discussing public

¹¹⁵ Moy et al, 2019.

¹¹⁶ Lipschulz 2007.

¹¹⁷ Framing theory is related to agenda-setting theory. Agenda-setting refers to medias ability to shape and filter individuals perception of relative importance of the issues. For example, the television news is opened with the most important news and newspaper layout emphasizes the importance of different stories. The theory was first introduced by Maxwell McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. See Moy et al 2019. In short, when agenda-setting refers to how the news tell the audience what to think about, framing theory adds to that another level, how to think about the news.

¹¹⁸ The origins of the framing theory lie in psychology (Gregory Bateson) and sociology, but its sociological foundations date back to Erwin Goffman in 1974, see Scheufele and Tewksbury 2007.

¹¹⁹ Goffman 1986, 21–25.

¹²⁰ Scheufele & Tewksbury 2007.

events.¹²¹ There are two primary and interlinked stages in the framing process: the *frame-building*, how the media frames are built and the content presented, and *frame-setting* that refers to the audience; how the media contents are comprehended and how the media frames are adopted in understanding the media contents. The media frames refer to the process of organizing the everyday reality to story-lines and essential contents, but also to working routines of journalists, when they identify and process the information. In this process of selection, framing and presenting the motives can also be unconscious.¹²² Individual frames have been defined to be a “mentally stored cluster of ideas that guide an individual’s processing of information.”¹²³

Framing theory is very applicable in approaching the media contents; how the issue is characterized in the media can influence the way it is also understood.¹²⁴ Frame-building takes place when a journalist constructs the news from the information available. Also, journalistic routines and ideological or political orientation of the journalist has its impact on framing the contents.¹²⁵ A journalist gathers, selects, processes and publishes the news according to media preferences, standards and rules. The news has its conventional story-line, which organizes the structure of the news for the readers and by this, also the concept of understanding the topic.¹²⁶ A frame in the media context means content selection; the selected aspect to write about the perceived reality, or the way to define the problem and interpret the causality.¹²⁷

Understanding and recognizing the possible influences requires careful analysis of media content. Framing is a technique to analyse what is central in the news, which are “symbolic” human products, and it includes decisions that a journalist makes to produce the news for an audience. To select a certain way of covering or telling the story also means rejecting many other perspectives. Because of this, framing the news should not be seen as biases, but as a function of news process. Media selects a narrow slice of newsworthy reality, which may include people, facts, issues, or events, and rejects many other possibilities.¹²⁸

¹²¹ Scheufele 1999.

¹²² Scheufele 1999, 106–107, Moy et al, 2019.

¹²³ Entman 1993, 53 in Scheufele 1999.

¹²⁴ Scheufele 1999; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007.

¹²⁵ Scheufele 1999.

¹²⁶ See Goffman 1986.

¹²⁷ Moy et al, 2019.

¹²⁸ Lipschulz 2007.

In the study of terrorism, framing offers a tool to address political agendas and enemies, racial and cultural identities, and the agenda-building perspectives of terrorism. The framing of terrorism can be understood from a cultural perspective, but as well from that of politics: by labelling terrorism government, military or academic sources may emphasize the state security lapses and shift the focus to violence rather than the political aspects of violence. For this, media practitioners should employ more diverse and alternative descriptions and avoid common frames and stereotypical portrayals.¹²⁹

An essential part of the framing process - and especially the frame building process - of media is understanding the importance of news sources. As Uwazuruike writes, the “sources set the tone for the framing of news events especially in conflicts, as various actors in a conflict try to influence the media reports about that conflict”. This does not, however, undermine the active role of journalists in the process of frame building. The journalists choose the sources, ask relevant questions and use quotes in the news stories.¹³⁰ The sources also are believed to play a notable role in the process of determining what becomes a news.¹³¹

The sources - and especially the official sources that are easier to find than conflicting voices - have their impact in shaping what becomes news. The official sources are also more easily recognized as legitimate bearers of facts and thus the sources that have access to media are generally institutions that deal with the power in the society, like police and the government, or elite sources like the large corporations.¹³² Also, the debates about how to resolve conflicts remain largely dominated by politicians and military officers, and the civilians, who suffer from the conflicts, are quite often excluded from the debates.¹³³

In his article Aeron Davis¹³⁴ describes the relation of news media and political sources. This relation is recognized to be important from the perspective of functioning democratic societies and the reporter-source exchange has an impact on shaping the news contents and thus the public understanding of politics. Politicians attempt to manage journalists in their seeking for favourable media

¹²⁹ Lipschulz 2007.

¹³⁰ Uwazuruike 2018b, 16.

¹³¹ Uwazuruike 2018b, 69.

¹³² Uwazuruike 2018b, 70–71.

¹³³ McGoldrick 2014, 28.

¹³⁴ Davis 2009.

coverage, and the journalists, as the “fourth estate”, try to process the news with their professional norms and autonomy. Despite this media-source conflict, both parties are dependent on each other in fluctuating cooperation; politicians in their need for publicity and the journalists in their need of high-level access to information. Journalists also contribute to the information-gathering needs of the politicians.

In conflict-related reporting it is more likely that the journalists try to use a wider range of sources. Berkowitz and Beach¹³⁵ explain the reason to be that, in controversial issues, more voices make attempts to be heard, and the journalists try to provide information that covers the perspectives of each side of the issue. In confronting the situation, the community already knows that the conflict exists, and covering a wider range of sources may draw in a greater readership as well.¹³⁶

However, parties with interests in the conflicts may actively seek to direct media contents about the conflict. There are examples of official sources, such as the military, of trying to employ censorship or trying to restrict information flows. One of the examples is the First Gulf war in 1991, when the US government implemented press pools to manage information flow.¹³⁷

When they have few resources to access alternative news sources or lack access to conflict areas, news media rely on news agencies as their sources of news. Uwazuruike describes how in the 9/11 attack and Afghan war most of the images were from the main Western news agencies AFP, AP and Reuters. The news agencies also have an influence on shaping the news contents and the media agenda.¹³⁸

In his doctoral dissertation Uwazuruike analysed the sourcing patterns in the Nigerian news about Boko Haram and how the Nigerian press reported terrorism within its national borders.¹³⁹ He focused on three perspectives: the news framing of Boko Haram, the sourcing patterns in the news reporting, and the challenges Nigerian journalists were facing in reporting Boko Haram. He noted that ethnicity, regionalism, and religious affiliations were significant determinants in the reporting and that the journalists legitimized violence against Boko Haram and failed to promote or explore non-violent approaches. His study also showed that

¹³⁵ Berkowitz & Beach 1993.

¹³⁶ Berkowitz & Beach 1993.

¹³⁷ Uwazuruike 2018b, 72.

¹³⁸ Uwazuruike 2018b, 74.

¹³⁹ Uwazuruike 2018b, 192–193.

newspapers preferred official sources like the security forces and that the religious sources were given priority depending on the ethnoreligious leanings of the editors.¹⁴⁰

News framing reveals some aspects of the reality to the public, such as the problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluations, and the recommendations for the described topics. In case of terrorism, relevant actors try to promote their interpretations about the events on the local media level, but also in the international media. The international media's relevance is its influence on how the foreign public and governments perceive the conflict. However, there is still the difficulty of cultural interpretations; how the messages resonate in different cultures. The media also determines the news frames with the language it selects to describe the events, for example, term selections like lynching, murdering, assassinating, or killing. Other means of framing are the selection of images the choice of experts and authority commentators, and the varying interpretations of the opposing parties. Uwazuruike notes that the frames mostly reflect, or are likely to be determined from a cultural context.¹⁴¹

The cultural context can also have an impact on the reporting from a certain viewpoint, like that of the victim, or from the "defensive mode". The victim's mode is more likely to be the case when the event concerns one's own people, like civilian casualties. The defensive mode reporting takes place when the authorities are rationalizing their actions, usually when there are civilian deaths on the other side. In the victim's mode reporting two types of framing are common: ethnic solidarity stories and the ones that demonize the enemy. In addition to these, Uwazuruike mentions patriotism to be one underlying theme in these stories.¹⁴²

Uwazuruike studied the themes and framing patterns of reporting in the Chibok girls' case in two Nigerian newspapers, the Daily Trust and the Vanguard. He discovered three dominant news frames that were used in the texts: 1) Mass abduction, 2) Government inaction and 3) Terrorism. In his study most of the news represented the mass abduction frame, however, Boko Haram was not usually referred to as a terrorist group nor linked to Islam, but simply as Boko Haram. The news also mirrored the polarization of North vs. South in the country. Within the mass abduction frame the northern based Daily Trust presented Boko

¹⁴⁰ Uwazuruike 2018b.

¹⁴¹ Uwazuruike 2018, 68–69.

¹⁴² Uwazuruike 2018, 69.

Haram as a group that can be negotiated with and the mainly southern based newspaper Vanguard, again, presented the group as terrorists or Islamic fundamentalists.

The study also showed how ethnic consideration was a major determinant in the uses of the frames in the reporting about the Chibok girls' abduction. In this sense the reporting also reflects the ethno-religious tensions and crises in the country: on one hand the suspicion against the southern based federal government and on the other hand "demonization of the northern elders and Islamic leaders". Uwazuruike writes that "instead of a common enemy, Boko Haram, against the Nigerian people, as often is the case in Western terrorism reportage, there is a complex web of "enemies" depending what side of the fence one sits". The conflict is not a binary division of government versus Boko Haram, but instead between the southern Christian religious leaders, northern elites, state and federal government officials, and Boko Haram. Correspondingly, all the parties try to shape the news narratives. Uwazuruike also notes that there is "also a negative representation of Muslims as terrorists or friends of terrorists, consistent with established frames in the West associating Islam with terrorism. The study also revealed that the two news medias, Daily Trust and Vanguard, in their reporting relied mostly on official government sources.¹⁴³

In general, reporting about events in Africa has been indicated to be biased in the Western media. The continent – which has a richness of diverse cultures – is often portrayed negatively as a continent of acute famine and severe starvation and with attributes like tribal anarchy, civil war, political instability, flagrant corruption, and incompetent leadership. Despite efforts to recognize the imbalance, most stories about Africa in the international media are still told by foreign journalists.¹⁴⁴ However, the Western perspective of reporting terrorism may not be directly applicable to the African context either.¹⁴⁵

Western media usually has another bias in associating any act of terrorism with Islam or Muslims. For example, in a study about framing Boko Haram in various reports of BBC and Al-Jazeera it was found out that BBC's framing of Boko Haram's insurgency took stereotypic dimensions of associating Islam with

¹⁴³ Uwazuruike 2018, 72–80.

¹⁴⁴ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

¹⁴⁵ Uwazuruike 2018b, 15.

barbarism, suicide bombings, extremism and terrorism. When Western media reports about non-Muslim terrorists, media seems to be quiet about the religion.¹⁴⁶

In the mainstream Western secularism (value liberalism) reporting religion-related topics also reflects the Western values. The more near the phenomenon is to the media's own values, the more auspiciously the media relates to it and, correspondingly, the phenomenon being far, the more dismissive the attitude.¹⁴⁷

3.2 Newsworthiness

In addition to framing, the news value theory, or newsworthiness, gives perspective in understanding the media contents and the journalistic process. The original theory of "newsworthiness", as the authors named it, was originally presented by Galtung and Ruge in 1965.¹⁴⁸ In their study they identify 12 factors that determine the newsworthiness of an event: threshold, frequency, unexpectedness, unambiguity, relevance, consonance, continuity, composition, reference to elite nations, reference to elite people, reference to persons, and negativity.¹⁴⁹ They stated that an event does not have to meet all the criteria to become news, but the more of the criteria are met, the more likely it is the event will be reported and regarded as news by the audience.

Harcup and O'Neill further elaborated the news criteria theory with some new findings. They included the power elite and celebrities, entertainment, and follow-up to the new criteria.¹⁵⁰

News value theory offers a viable tool in understanding the news media's interest in violent extremism. The activities that the violent extremists engage in also comply with many of the news value criteria. According to Galtung and Ruge, the more negative the event and its consequences, the more probable it is it becomes news.¹⁵¹ Kidnapping schoolgirls, recruiting suicide bombers or bombing schools, churches and mosques are deeply negative acts that have far-reaching consequences and are, as such, newsworthy for the media. Although the events of extreme violence bring up the perspective of journalistic ethics, they also include

¹⁴⁶ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

¹⁴⁷ Sumiala-Seppänen 2006.

¹⁴⁸ Galtung & Ruge 1965.

¹⁴⁹ The listed criteria the first eight are common in all cultures and the last four are typical at least to Western countries, see Pietiläinen 1998, 23.

¹⁵⁰ Harcup & O'Neill 2001.

¹⁵¹ Galtung & Ruge, 1965, 68.

elements like unexpectedness and human drama that the news media need in attracting and keeping its audiences.¹⁵²

Abdukari has studied the newsworthiness and ethical dilemmas of terror reporting. He notes that journalists considered Boko Haram stories to be highly newsworthy with impelling news criteria factors like conflict, negativity, unusualness, drama, impact and topicality. In reporting the insurgency, the journalists also constantly contended with ethical dilemmas like making decisions on what to report or not to report, content selection, story framing, choice of terms, dealing with attack victims, relating with the sources and safeguarding personal safety and professional sustainability. Those who had had direct encounters with the extremists in the northeastern region of Nigeria got more newsworthy stories, but also faced more ethical challenges than those journalists who covered the news of crises from relatively safer places. The journalists also faced dilemmas like if the stories could help Boko Haram's propaganda efforts and, if not reporting or underreporting the event, if it would harm the journalists' duty of telling the truth and informing the public.¹⁵³

3.3 Foreign news transmission

The several studies about foreign news reveal what kind of events the news producers perceive as newsworthy and what events are selected as international news. In these studies, the focus has been on the comparison of the local and global emphasis of the news contents and on finding out why the objects and subjects of the news are very similar in various countries. Foreign news seems to affect the perception that the audience of the media has about other countries and cultures. This is partly because the news themselves are perceived as an objective description of the reality.¹⁵⁴

The quantity of foreign news in the Finnish media has been subject to research for decades. In 1961 a study¹⁵⁵ revealed that the foreign news in 16 Finnish newspapers were largely Western-oriented with European news covering

¹⁵² Abubakar et al 2020, 282–286.

¹⁵³ Abdukari 2020, 286.

¹⁵⁴ Pietiläinen 1998, 15–17. Comparative studies of foreign news have focused on three research types: 1) in studying the world views and what kind of image the media of certain country gives about another country, 2) in studying the news flows that has focused on the structures of news production and distribution as well as in the media contents, and 3) in studying the development of news media where the focus has been in the role of media in promoting development and also the development of the forms of mass communication.

¹⁵⁵ Vehmas (1964) in Pietiläinen 1998, 28.

about two thirds of the news. The share of developing countries was 15%. The news media received the news mostly from news agencies, either directly or via the Finnish News Agency STT. In a later study (1975) the same trend continued and the news about developing countries were mostly negative.¹⁵⁶ There are studies with the conclusion that the news about third world countries concentrate on crises, are one-sided and avoid dealing with details or complex phenomena.¹⁵⁷

The same trend continued also in an international study on foreign news in 1995. In this study the most important news topics in each country were those of the same continent, and after that news from Western Europe and the United States.¹⁵⁸ Twelve years later in 2007 a study focusing on the foreign news in Finnish media showed that Western and Northern countries - like in the earlier studies as well - were over-represented, and this bias was also explained by the economic inequality.¹⁵⁹

These studies concentrating in news flows have revealed the importance of news agencies in news production and distribution. A historical explanation for the Western focus of the news is the still slightly existing heritage of colonialism that has caused the news to flow from the Western countries to the South, and the historical Western worldview with centres and peripheries.¹⁶⁰ Another well-known bias is that the international news agencies have been concentrated in the economic centres of the world, like London and New York. These elite countries appear more prominently in the news due to the routinization of journalistic processes, which emphasize institutions like authorities and politicians as news sources, and typical events like elections, state visits, catastrophes, and takeovers.¹⁶¹

One factor also affecting news production is cultural nearness. Cultural nearness refers to historical and cultural bonds as well as economic and political alliances. This kind of interaction is quite stable and unchanging in its nature. When an event is linked to one's own culture, it is more likely to become newsworthy. Also, foreign correspondents are more easily situated in countries that are geographically, politically, economically and culturally closer.¹⁶²

¹⁵⁶ Pietiläinen 1998, 15–28.

¹⁵⁷ Pietiläinen 1998, 35.

¹⁵⁸ Kivikuru & Pietiläinen 1998, 65.

¹⁵⁹ Uskali 2007, 20–21.

¹⁶⁰ Pietiläinen, 1998, 31, 35.

¹⁶¹ Pietiläinen 1998, 28–30.

¹⁶² Pietiläinen 1998, 30–32.

International news agencies have been transmitting news from the mid 19th century and they have an important role in the globalization development as well. The four biggest news agencies are Reuters in Britain, Agence France Press (AFP) in France and Associated Press (AP) and Bloomberg in the USA. In addition to being global news agencies they also have a role as the news agencies of their respective countries. This also may have an impact on the emphasis of news concentrating on elite countries.¹⁶³

There has been a long discussion about the crises of the newspaper sector. While the circulation rates and number of readers of newspapers have dropped and caused declining revenues, online news content creators are recycling original news content without paying for it. Consequently, many newspapers have closed down and employment for journalists has plummeted. For example, in Europe the circulation rate of daily print newspapers has decreased by 21.3% between 2010 and 2015. In the same period in the US the number of employees has decreased by 39%. At the same time journalists are expected to produce much more output than in the earlier decades. Lacking time and resources, journalists are under pressure to use public relations materials and news agency contents for their output. This development has raised concern about diversity and increasing homogenization in the news as well as accuracy and trustworthiness.¹⁶⁴

In the Finnish media landscape the trend has been the same; the leading media houses have reduced their resources in foreign news production. Finnish media has traditionally relied much on foreign news sources for international news.¹⁶⁵

3.4 The relation of media and terrorism

On September 11, 2001 when the World Trade Center and Pentagon were attacked, the relation between terrorism and media was transformed.¹⁶⁶ Almost all the media in the U.S. and worldwide were filled with live video of two airplanes crashing into two of New York's most well-known skyscrapers, the twin towers of the World Trade Center.¹⁶⁷ The event formed a kind of collective trauma, where

¹⁶³ Rantanen 1998, 45; Uskali 2007.

¹⁶⁴ Boumans 2016.

¹⁶⁵ Uskali 2007, 14, 88.

¹⁶⁶ Zelizer and Allan, 2011.

¹⁶⁷ New York, London and Washington are regarded as the media capitals of the world. This could be one perspective to the wide broadcasting of the attack and its impact on the other world media. See e.g. Uskali 2007, 11.

also journalists in the news media were as confused about what had happened as their audience. The attack also realigned the media's priorities and, in addition to various forms of cooperation, the media houses also shared their continuous contents about the catastrophe with each other.¹⁶⁸ The case was studied from many perspectives, like its impact on journalism.¹⁶⁹

Lipschulz¹⁷⁰ writes that historically terrorism has been related to the concept of propaganda. Although terrorism had been reported about in the media earlier, Lipschulz states that before the 9/11 attacks, U.S. news media lacked a language for terrorism. Zelizer and Allan¹⁷¹ refer to the same saying that there was not a readymade "script" or frame in telling the seemingly incomprehensible story to their audiences.¹⁷²

Ten days after the attack president George W. Bush announced a global war on terrorism. The news media worldwide started using the phrase "war on terror". This expression legitimized the phenomenon of "terror" which although not a state is something against which a state can wage a war.¹⁷³ Ever since, this expression has given a frame to addressing terrorism in the media and news media has used it widely in its narratives.¹⁷⁴ It also became the standard in understanding "friends" and "enemies" of the U.S. and offered politicians and journalists in the U.S. a narrative to make sense of the diverse stories about international security, civil war and global conflict. In this sense this "war on terrorism" frame also became a political tool.¹⁷⁵

According to Freedman and Daya¹⁷⁶ the term "war on terror" has had an Islamic connotation, but the view of Islamic militancy is undifferentiated and the Islamist groups, like al-Qaeda in Afghanistan and Pakistan, Hezbollah in Lebanon, Hamas in Palestine and other radical Islamist groups in different parts of the world are too often presented as part of a seamless transnational terror network in the mainstream media. They also note that the majority of the world's Muslims have nothing to do with terrorism. On the contrary, they are victims of this

¹⁶⁸ Carey 2011.

¹⁶⁹ Zelizer and Allan, 2011; Uskali 2001.

¹⁷⁰ Lipschulz 2007, 22.

¹⁷¹ Zelizer & Allan, 2011b.

¹⁷² Zelizer & Allan, 2011, 2–5.

¹⁷³ Freedman & Daya 2012.

¹⁷⁴ Freedman & Daya 2012.

¹⁷⁵ Uwazuruike 2018, 69.

¹⁷⁶ Freedman and Daya 2012.

“scourge” and the “war on terror” has brought misery to large parts of Islamic world.

In his article Lipschulz studies the framing of terrorism in news media. He writes that “the gatekeeping process of news, including news of terrorism, is a strange mix of news values, available sources, political concerns, nationalistic tendencies, economic realities, and cultural norms of interpretation”. However, studying words only is limited and we need to better understand the visual importance and the imagery of television news stories”.¹⁷⁷

Journalism is easily seen as objective description of reality. McGoldrick in her article elaborates the biases in war reporting. She notes that there are three biases in conventional conflict reporting; 1) a bias in favour of official sources, 2) a bias in favour of event over process and, 3) a bias in favour of dualism in reporting conflicts. She writes that a news story is supposed to answer six basic questions: who, what, when, where, why and how. Of these questions “why” is dealt with only superficially in most of the news, partly because the journalists may think it would make the news too long. However, explaining the causes would help make sense of the events.¹⁷⁸

In reporting conflicts media coverage is characterized to have weaknesses, like simplifying the causes of conflicts, focusing on male actors, portraying women as victims and focusing on extraordinary violence and its visible effects.¹⁷⁹

Media also easily depicts the acts as a chain of events from the perspective of a third person, which makes us easily forget the moral perspectives of the acts. When the events are seen like flows of acts, one following another, the perspective of responsibility of the action is also blurred.¹⁸⁰

In the Western world, media draws the pictures of the victims of terrorism, and at the same, gives publicity to human suffering. The audience’s role is to respond with compassion to the emotional engagement that media offers in describing the victims of conflicts. A concept of “global compassion” refers to the affective and cognitive reaction to human suffering of distant others in the public sphere. According to Birgitta Höijer this concept is situated in the intersection between politics, humanitarian organization, the media and the citizens. Human

¹⁷⁷ Lipschulz 2007, 32–33.

¹⁷⁸ McGoldrick 2006.

¹⁷⁹ Medie 2017.

¹⁸⁰ Hallamaa 2017, 57.

suffering is also part of Western politics in the form of humanitarian aid concerning distant global crises and wars.¹⁸¹

There have been many studies about the relation between media and terrorism and the studies reveal that the relationship is beneficial for both parties. The news media seems to have a complex relation with extreme terrorism. Violent extremism supplies the media with many of the key elements of news value (newsworthiness) theory: negativity, controversy, unusualness, conflict, sensationalism and impact.¹⁸² Terrorists want attention for their attacks and the media benefits from the attacks as an increase in sales and audience's eagerness to get information about the terrorist attacks.¹⁸³

Uwazuruike describes the relation to be symbiotic: the relevant actors in conflicts cannot ignore the media and the media cannot ignore the conflicts. He writes that most of the definitions of terrorism emphasize the media's role as if "an act is only indeed terrorism if it can attract the attention of the media". He also refers to Hoskins and O'Loughlin who argue that the media not only moderates the public understanding and perception of terrorism, but also its public appearance.¹⁸⁴ What the public knows about conflicts, it knows it from the reports in the media, and due to this, the major actors of the conflict contest to influence the media agenda and via it, the public agenda.¹⁸⁵

On the other hand, the media also legitimizes the uses of military responses and violence against the terrorists by drawing a picture of terrorists as an uncivilized evil and enemies.¹⁸⁶

However, seeing terrorism as seeking publicity is simplistic because it ignores that terrorists are making efforts to direct news coverage to advance their cause in good light (from their perspective) and targeting to evoke fear, attract new members, polarize public opinion, and gain a certain image with their communication. In this sense the violent acts of terrorism differ from other acts of violence; they are communicatively constituting and intending to transmit messages of fear.¹⁸⁷

¹⁸¹ Höijer 2004.

¹⁸² Abubakar et al 2020.

¹⁸³ Rohner & Frey 2007.

¹⁸⁴ Uwazuruike 2018b, 14; Hoskins & O'Loughlin, 2007.

¹⁸⁵ Uwazuruike 2018b, 14–15.

¹⁸⁶ Abubakar 2020, 281.

¹⁸⁷ Uwazuruike 2018b, 47–48.

Terrorist organizations like Boko Haram are skilful in using traditional and social media to advance their objectives, to spread their ideology and, for example, to intimidate their enemies and recruit new people. They also have their own media and communications strategies, based on understanding the agenda-setting function of media and its skilful deployment. Boko Haram has also received wide media coverage in its native Nigeria focusing on the group's violent attacks and the government's reaction. The group also has murdered journalists and bombed newspaper premises.¹⁸⁸

Reporting terrorism requires tough ethical evaluations from the journalists. The reporters have to face the threat of extreme violence, like beheadings of their colleagues, or the abduction or exploitation of innocent, defenceless children. They also must decide to which extent they report the events. Trying to report the events as cruel as they occur may on one hand serve the terrorists' aim in creating fear and manipulating the audiences with their propaganda. On the other hand, underreporting may create a false feeling of security but also be against journalism's basic principles of telling the truth and, as such, increase distrust in the news media.¹⁸⁹

The reporting may also be biased. Ezeah and Emmanuel¹⁹⁰ refer to studies about "parachute journalism" where journalists are dispatched from their offices to the scenes of conflict areas immediately when there has been a crisis. They say that the danger in this kind of reporting is that reporters may not have an adequate knowledge of the people or the contexts. This may lead to misunderstanding the crises and thus, misreporting.¹⁹¹

Ezeah and Emmanuel¹⁹² in their study about the media publicity of Boko Haram describe how the group started as a domestic militant group and gained larger international publicity after the bombing attack in August 2011 against the United Nations office in Abuja, Nigeria's capital.¹⁹³ Before that Boko Haram was considered as an al-Qaeda affiliate group and as such, not a potential threat to United States. As Ezeah and Emanuel state, this interpretation suggests that foreign

¹⁸⁸ Abubakar et al 2020, 281; Uwazuruike 2018.

¹⁸⁹ Abubakar 2020.

¹⁹⁰ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016, 32–33.

¹⁹¹ Musa & Yusha'u, 2013.

¹⁹² Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

¹⁹³ Nwaubani 2018. In this attack on August 26, 2011 a vehicle smashed through two security barriers at the entrance to the United Nations headquarters in Abuja. The driver crashed the car into the reception and then launched a bomb. In the attack a wing of the building collapsed, 23 people died and 73 were wounded. Boko Haram later claimed responsibility of the attack.

media in Western countries becomes interested in international events only if they have domestic implications.¹⁹⁴

Nigerian journalist Adaobi Nwaubani has studied how Boko Haram's former leader Abubakar Shekau manipulated media. She describes:

Prior to the Chibok kidnappings, Shekau was just some madman Nigerians saw on TV once in a while. Bushy beard, combat clothes, he would stab at the camera with his fingers and guffaw wildly while swaying from side to side, surrounded by armed men in balaclavas... When Shekau expressed his desire to eradicate Western education and impose Islamic education and law in Nigeria, many of us laughed. Who did this maniac from the hinterlands of our country really think he was? ¹⁹⁵

After the Chibok kidnappings Boko Haram has provided the media with provocative videos. Nwaubani states that the Chibok girls case offered the media a lens of gender violence that Boko Haram used in building their global brand. Later Boko Haram has started to use female bombers in suicide attacks. According to Nwaubani's report this also indicates Boko Haram's eagerness to grab international media headlines.¹⁹⁶

Uwazuruike describes how Boko Haram has intentions to profile its attacks as strategic and how it also tries to attract international attention. The group sends its videos to AFP (Agence France-Presse) that gathers and transmits news reports worldwide. Uwazuruike describes how the group's wider need for audiences are reached by more traditional means like radio, but through YouTube and "preferred local journalists" as well.¹⁹⁷

The media sphere in Nigeria has long and wide roots in the colonial history of the country. British media still has a strong heritage in the country and like the former BBC correspondent in Africa Martin Plaut writes, the BBC has "a huge and loyal audience across the continent, which has been built up over decades". BBC provides radio programmes in many languages including English, Arabic, Hausa, Swahili, French and Portuguese. BBC World Services covers an audience of 111 million people in Africa across all platforms, including television and

¹⁹⁴ Ezeah & Emanuel (2016) 31–32.

¹⁹⁵ Nwaubani 2018.

¹⁹⁶ Nwaubani 2018. According to notebooks that two Chibok girl survivors kept well-hidden during the captivation of Boko Haram, the militants who attacked the Chibok school were not primarily targeting the abduction of the girls, but were on a mission of steeling and looting. Their primary target was a machine that was used in constructing weapons. They did not find it, but instead, before the abduction started arguing about the fate of the captive students. The story has later been confirmed by Human Rights Watch report that is based on the interviews of 57 of survived Chibok girls.

¹⁹⁷ Uwazuruike 2018b, 26.

online platforms. Plaut writes that the number includes 56 million television watchers, 76 million radio listeners and 6 million Internet users.¹⁹⁸ Ezeah and Emmanuel describe the presence of BBC Hausa services as dominant and “huge” especially in Northern Nigeria, with a weekly reach of 23.5 million adults, and being four times the size of the audience of BBC’s English services in Nigeria.¹⁹⁹

However, the media in Nigeria also reflect the same polarization between North and South as does the religious landscape. The people in the South are more educated, the literacy rate is higher and most of the news organisations are based in the South or owned by southern people. In the predominantly Southwest Nigerian press Muslims are more likely to be portrayed in a negative light.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁸ Plaut 2017.

¹⁹⁹ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016.

²⁰⁰ Uwazuruike 2018b, 31, 56.

4 Terrorism and its consequences

This chapter focuses, in addition to describing terrorism in general, also on the perspective of the victims of violence and the gender-based sexual violence in conflicts. In the Chibok schoolgirls' case one perspective is the abduction, which is also elaborated.

4.1 What is terrorism?

How can terrorism be defined? Terrorism is a controversial term, but one of its characteristics is that it always involves violence or a threat of violence.²⁰¹ In their article Esther Akinsola and Adebisola Ojo note that terrorism is a global phenomenon that has no officially agreed upon definition and the definition depends on the perspective from which it is defined. It may be perceived as a reaction to injustice or oppression or, from the legal perspective, as a crime against the state and humanity. It also affects society in many ways.²⁰²

Various studies are concentrating on the definitions of terrorism. Schmid and Jongman analyzed 109 different definitions of terrorism in 1988 and later Weinberg and colleagues examined 73 definitions in 55 articles in 2004. Both studies underlined the central role of media in public understanding and perception of terrorism. Relying on this perception, publicity seems central to terrorism strategies and the primary objective of it is to make an impact on political elites, the public, or both.²⁰³

One perspective to define terrorism is the criteria used by the Global Terrorism Database in defining a terrorist attack:

“The GTD defines a terrorist attack as the threatened or actual use of illegal force and violence by a non-state actor to attain a political, economic, religious, or social goal through fear, coercion, or intimidation.”²⁰⁴

To be included in the database, three attributes must be present in an incident: 1) The incident must be intentional – the result of a conscious calculation on the part of a perpetrator, 2) The incident must entail some level of violence or immediate threat of violence including property violence, as well as violence against people and, 3) The perpetrators of the incidents must be sub-national

²⁰¹ Abubakar 2020.

²⁰² Akinsola & Ojo 2015.

²⁰³ Schmid & Jongman 1988; Weinberg et al. 2004; Lewis 2012 in Uwazuruike 2018, 44–45.

²⁰⁴ GTD 2019.

actors. There are other criteria as well, one being that the incident has to be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities and by that, also outside the parameters permitted by international humanitarian law.²⁰⁵

Philip E. Devine and Robert J. Rafalko define terrorism as “violence directed, as a matter of political strategy, against innocent people.”²⁰⁶ They point out that the element of political strategy distinguishes terrorism from warfare and ordinary crime. Terrorists attempt to use constant fear as a means of political power to gain attention to themselves or their grievances. However, in the context of a civil war the distinction between crime, military violence and terrorism is not that clear. A wartime atrocity in the international context may be an act of terrorism in the civil context.²⁰⁷ According to the writers the most essential difference between terrorism and civil disobedience is that terrorism uses violence to achieve its goals.

Devine and Rafalko also note that in the political strategies of terrorism one element is the incoherence of terrorists’ aims, which are often ill-defined and without a clear idea how to gain political power.²⁰⁸ This has been seen in the life-span of Boko Haram as well.

The actions of Boko Haram have been defined to be both war and terrorism. The definition of the group seems not to be unambiguous, and it varies depending on the sources as well. For example, Amnesty International uses the definition “Islamist insurgent movement”.²⁰⁹ Boko Haram itself defines its operations to be religious war (jihad), but the state leaders of Nigeria have unanimously defined the actions to not to be religious, but a war against all the Nigerian people.²¹⁰ In May 2014, Nigeria and other West African countries declared a full-scale operation against Boko Haram. Concurrently, Nigeria’s former president Goodluck Jonathan declared that he is determined “to protect our democracy, our national unity and our political stability, by waging a total war against terrorism.”²¹¹

²⁰⁵ GTD 2019.

²⁰⁶ Devine and Rafalko 1982.

²⁰⁷ Devine and Rafalko 1982, 41.

²⁰⁸ Devine and Rafalko 1982, 43.

²⁰⁹ Amnesty International 2015.

²¹⁰ N5 (April 26, 2014).

²¹¹ Reuters 2014b; N33 (May 17, 2014).

4.2 *Victims of terrorism*

Since the World Trade centre attack on 9.11.2001 in New York, there have been many studies concentrating on terrorism and its consequences from different viewpoints. There are some significant features of all terroristic attacks:

The primary objective of the terrorists is to induce communal fear.
Those individuals who are targeted are used as means to produce communal disruption and anxiety.
The whole community suffers from the result of the terroristic attacks, including those who are not directly injured or witnessing the attack.
Terroristic attacks usually occur without a warning. This makes them psychologically more damaging, because people are not prepared to them.²¹²

WHO defines collective violence as “the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group – whether this group is transitory or has a more permanent identity – against another group or set of individuals, to achieve political, economic or social objectives”.²¹³

Victimhood can also be collective when it is a result of experiences of being targeted as a group. It refers to the psychological experience and consequences of harm or injury. These kinds of consequences may cause victimization-related cognitions and behaviour, shape the group’s collective identity, and have an impact on the group’s interaction with other groups. Collective victimization may be due to structural violence, like inequality caused by discriminatory societal structures and practices that can be seen in education, employment, or healthcare. It may also be a result of direct violence, like ethnic conflict, terrorism, hate crimes, war, and genocide.²¹⁴

Collective victimization has many dimensions that may have an impact on how victimhood is distinguished. One dimension is the temporality, if the event has been a one-time event or if it has been sustained over a long period of time. The other dimension is the symmetry, meaning how much power the victim group has compared to the perpetrators.²¹⁵

In the case of Chibok girls, the asymmetry is obvious in many ways: under-aged schoolgirls versus armed terrorist men or the government politics. As under-aged children, the Chibok schoolgirls also represent the “innocent vulnerability” which is an instrument to mobilize tender-heartedness and parental love. This kind

²¹² Campbell 2010.

²¹³ WHO 2002, 115.

²¹⁴ Noor et al 2017, 121–122.

²¹⁵ Noor et al 2017, 122.

of depiction of children in a conflict may shift the narratives in news media from crises to sentimental pity. In the studies about refugee children this kind of child imagery has led to infantilizing refugee children and depicting them as predominantly distressed, clueless and powerless. It may raise empathy in the name of “our” common humanity, but it also deprives the children of agency and voice.²¹⁶ This kind of critique has been attached to the #BringBackOurGirls campaign as well, although the public reactions can be seen to be signs of compassion and emotional engagement.²¹⁷

Collective victimization affects the group in multiple ways. In the case of direct violence, it causes physical dimensions of suffering, such as injuries and deaths and, in the case of structural violence the consequences may be seen in mental well-being, life expectancy and quality of life. It also has the material dimension in the case of destruction and loss of property, and cultural dimensions, like its impact on the worldview, way of life, cultural continuity, language, norms and values. All these dimensions may leave the group with a sense of trauma or distress and harm the group member’s psychological well-being. The impact of collective victimizations also extends to the group members who did not directly experience the harmful event itself, but who identify themselves with the victim group. Collective victimhood can also be transmitted historically through family narratives.²¹⁸

In disaster studies the victims are classified into three categories: Direct victims: those who are physically present or in close proximity to an event; secondary victims: family members, close friends of victims and professionals like emergency personnel who assist in events and; indirect victims: individuals in the community affected by the secondary effects.²¹⁹ All these categories are present in the Chibok schoolgirl case as well. However, in addition to being victims some of the abducted girls are also subjects of terroristic acts, like suicide bombings and reported killings.

The girls and women are victims of war and terrorism from many perspectives. One explanation is the gendering of conflicts: the gender determines

²¹⁶ Chouliaraki and Stolic 2017, 1168–1169.

²¹⁷ Höjjer 2004, 526 writes that sometimes female viewers identify with the situation of the victims. This kind of reaction may be due to cultural and traditional reasons and women’s mainly caring roles in family life, where women are fostered to show more feelings. Showing the feelings of solidarity with victims may not accord with male ideals about heroic warfare and violence.

²¹⁸ Noor et al 2007, 122.

²¹⁹ Costin 2006, 234.

who participates in conflicts and what kind of roles they play. The role of fighters and soldiers has traditionally been assigned to men and they, therefore, have been given the role of defending territory, women and children. Gender also has played a role in conflicts in the form of sexual violence targeted disproportionately at women and girls.²²⁰

In the context of conflicts women are easily portrayed as victims in the media.²²¹ Höijer writes that the audience accepts the dominant victim code of the media and regards children, women and the elderly as ideal victims that deserve compassion.²²²

On the other hand, stereotyping is not only related to the images of victims. The image of a terrorist is mainly a fanatical male and female terrorists like the suicide bombers challenge this stereotype. Uwazuruike refers to studies²²³ where it has been argued that there is no evidence that male and female terrorists would fundamentally differ from each other in terms of recruitment, motivation, ideological factors, or for example brutality. However, in the news media female terrorists are likely to be described by their appearance, family status, biological details, and social circumstances, and the focus on the personal aspects attributes the female terrorist's behaviour to merely external factors rather than to personal motivation.²²⁴

Sexual violence including child abuse and sexual exploitation in wars and conflicts has been reported extensively. Conflicts may also force the people to displace, and they may suffer from breakdowns of families and lack of social protective structures. Especially refugees and internally displaced persons are in a highly vulnerable position with regard to sexual violence during displacements or conflicts.²²⁵

Boko Haram actively uses sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) as a strategic tactic in its operations. Women and girls are also used as instruments in violent operations, for example, in brutal suicide bombings. As in the Boko

²²⁰ Medie 2017, 22. As in the case of Boko Haram, women and girls also have played a variety of roles during the conflicts. Some may even join the fighting forces, also under duress. On the other hand, women have worked in order to resolve conflict and in peace building.

²²¹ Medie 2017. There is a specific approach of gender-sensitive peace-journalism, where special attention is put on the way of how portraying the diversity of gender roles and reporting less visible forms of violence. It also emphasizes exploring the conflict transformation options.

²²² Höijer 2004.

²²³ Nacos (2005 in Uwazuruike 2018b, 53.

²²⁴ Uwazuruike 2018b, 52–53.

²²⁵ Vu et al 2014.

Haram case, the conflict can affect increased rates of child and early marriages when the girls and women have no or little choice to marry potentially violent partners.²²⁶ Almost half of the girls aged 15–18 have in Northern Nigeria have begun childbearing. Because of systematic rape, the United Nations Population Fund has helped with deliveries of 16,000 babies in the Boko Haram ravaged Northeastern Nigeria only during the years 2014–2015. However, there are also pregnancies due to romantic relationships and forced marriages.²²⁷

The female victims are also creators of a new generation of children.²²⁸ These children may suffer from a range of emotional and behavioural disturbances, which may have an impact on perpetrating or experiencing violence later in life.²²⁹ In the case of Boko Haram both the women and their children have been reported to suffer from stigmatization which may have a wider impact on their chances to recover or reconnect and participate in the community.²³⁰

In general, terrorism is armed attacks against the defenceless that destroy unexpectedly and without provocation the peace outside warzones. As Campbell writes in her article, for the terrorists the victims are only an instrument, not the ultimate target. Besides, the whole community is affected by terrorism.²³¹

Because the nature of terroristic events is unpredictable, there exists neither much research evidence on its impact nor the necessary psychosocial aid for adults and children. Therefore, many guidelines of aid rely on the combination of expert views and restricted evidence, and on the health services for the victims of the attacks, and they concentrate, partly artificially, on the time phases of recovery after the attack.²³²

When talking about the victims of terrorism it is also essential to define the distinction between an on-going conflict and isolated, single acts of terrorism. Psychological reactions to on-going conflicts may be compared to those of warfare.²³³

In psychology a common viewpoint of research have been the psychological effects or consequences of terrorism like the psychological well-being in the form

²²⁶ Ekhtor-Mobayode et al. 2020.

²²⁷ Oriola 2017.

²²⁸ Temitorpe 2017.

²²⁹ WHO 2017.

²³⁰ HRW 2014.

²³¹ Campbell 2010.

²³² Campbell 2010.

²³³ Costin 2006.

of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), which can be expected as a normal reaction to a highly traumatic event. It has also been researched that most of the victims of terrorism suffer from psychological distress in the immediate aftermath of the terrorist attack. The studies show that individual vulnerability for PTSD increases when factors like lower IQ and a low level of education, lower socioeconomic status, being female, and being from an ethnic minority are in question.²³⁴

The bystanders, or indirect victims, form a very critical mass for a conflict. In violent cases bystanders may not have a choice at all. The collective conflicts may threaten basic human needs, like identity, security, human self-esteem, and the sense of justice. The ethnic group, the nation as well as the state serve as a vehicle to protect fundamental basic needs.²³⁵

Bystanders may even suffer from unhealed group trauma, especially when the group has met persecutions and violence. In these cases, it is more likely to respond to a threat with violence and revenge.²³⁶

Staub defines bystanders to be “witnesses who are in a position to know about events” and describes:

“They may close their eyes and ears to events and information and claim they did not know - hence we need the concept of being in a position to know. Passivity by internal bystanders (members of the population where the violence is occurring) and by external bystanders (outside groups and nations) encourages perpetrators. It allows the evolution of increasing violence. Such passivity is common.”²³⁷

4.3 Abductions

The Encyclopedia of Trauma²³⁸ defines the dynamics of abduction and kidnapping to be similar: the hostage-taker keeps someone against his will, and the victim becomes a pawn of negotiation or bargaining. Terrorists use abductions as a means of their political or economic interests as well as a statement of their power or propaganda. Kidnapping results in trauma not only to the victims but also to their families, friends, and the persons first involved. Because the victims do not necessarily know the aims of the kidnapper, whether there will be a release, abuse, harm, or killing, the range of emotions is wide from fear to anger and rage and

²³⁴ Sprang 2003 in Costin 2006.

²³⁵ Kellman 1997/2007, 65.

²³⁶ Staub 1999, 63.

²³⁷ Staub 1999, 306.

²³⁸ Encyclopedia of Trauma 2012.

even guilt. The reactions may also be cognitive, like impaired memory and concentration, flashbacks, and denial that the event never happened.²³⁹

In the case of a child survivor of many years of kidnapping, reconnection to society takes much time and requires many years of continued psychological support and counselling. In a study of abducted children, it was found out that they had symptoms from nightmares, fear of doors and windows to depression and problems at school and with peers. One result of kidnapping may be the so-called Stockholm syndrome, where the victim develops a bond with or becomes sympathetic to the abductor. This has been reported in various studies about the abductions of adults as well with the notion that those who had more humiliating experiences also had an increased likelihood of experiencing the Stockholm syndrome.²⁴⁰

In the recovery from an abduction the first means of aid are psychological first aid and critical incident management. Trust also plays a significant role: it must be regained for the victim. Both the victims and their families need counselling to regain control of normal life.²⁴¹

In Africa, Nigeria is not the only country where large-scale abductions have taken place. For example, in Uganda the Lord's Resistance Army has abducted, raped, tortured, and killed a large number of people, including women and girls. It is estimated that between 1986 and 2006 the LRA abducted from 25,000 to 38,000 children of whom about 7,500 were girls. Of them, some 1,000 became mothers during their captivity. Most of the abducted children were taken from their homes and forced to live with the LRA fighters and fight in their forces. They also had to commit atrocities towards their own families during their captivity. Women and girls who were mainly abducted to serve as wives and mothers, also experienced sexual violence, forced marriages, and enforced pregnancies.²⁴²

One of the first comprehensive reports about the abductions made by Boko Haram in Nigeria was made by Human Rights Watch in 2014.²⁴³ HRW

²³⁹ Encyclopedia of Trauma 2012, 2.

²⁴⁰ Encyclopedia of Trauma 2012, 3. The term Stockholm syndrome is based on the kidnapping of 14 years old Elizabeth Smart who was abducted for more than 9 months and during the time developed a bond with her capturer. She did not seek for help, but did what the kidnapper wanted her to do.

²⁴¹ Encyclopedia of Trauma 2012, 3.

²⁴² Kanya 2012.

²⁴³ Human Rights Watch 2014.

interviewed 30 persons who had been abducted by Boko Haram and 16 witnesses of the abductions. Among the interviewed were also 12 Chibok schoolgirls who had been able to escape from Boko Haram. Other women and girls were abducted from their homes and villages, from farm work, on their way to fetch water or when they attended school. In captivity they were forced to convert to Islam or otherwise subjected to physical and psychological abuse, forced labour, forced marriage with their capturers, and sexual abuse including rape.

In the case of the abductions of both the LRA and Boko Haram, the rescued girls have faced stigmatization from their families and communities. Some were thrown out from their families after some time and, in the LRA case, some of the girls were also stigmatized because of the reinsertion package they got from reception centres. The reinsertion packages and assistance to mothers made their reintegration to the community more difficult.²⁴⁴

4.4 Conflict-related gender-based violence

The research of conflict-related sexual and gender-based violence has concentrated much on the violence against women and girls. Philipp Schulz emphasizes that wartime sexual violence against men is committed more frequently than generally assumed, but academics as well as policy-makers have directed only marginal attention to research on it. Schulz refers to documentation of conflict-related sexual violence against men and boys in at least 50 contemporary armed conflicts including Syria, Libya, and the former Yugoslavia.²⁴⁵

In his article Schulz tries to remedy the gap by investigating sexual violence against men and boys during the two-decade long civil war in Northern Uganda 1986–2006/2008. Both parties of the war, the rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA) and the troops of the government of Uganda, were responsible for extensive human rights violations, like killings, torture, and sexual violence against civilian people. Among these crimes against men were also penetrative anal rapes. Schulz writes that within the heteronormative and patriarchal context this is considered to harm the gender hierarchy, depriving the manhood, power and status and by virtue of these, subordinating the men.

²⁴⁴ Kamya 2012, 76.

²⁴⁵ Schulz 2020.

The Uganda case reinforced the notion that crimes of men-directed sexual violence were excluded from the official discourses of the conflict and, the male survivors' lived realities remained silenced and this led the victims to suffer in isolation. Also, the public speaking about the victims' experiences of sexual abuse may lead to shame and a social stigma. This challenges the way the sexual abuse of men is acknowledged in society. In the Uganda case, among the elements of reparations and remediation were material compensation like tools for agriculture that would help the men to recover their daily functional life and physical rehabilitation. The survivors wished "justice as a better future" to reinforce the gender identities and the relationships in the community.²⁴⁶

According to Blunt²⁴⁷ there has been much criticism about war being presented as the sphere of masculinity and domesticity as the feminine sphere: while men fight their heroic battles, protecting mothers, sons and daughters at home, women provide a background, home, a kind of sphere of safety.

Violating enemy women has been a part of war strategies and it has been done - also systematically as ordered acts - through the ages.²⁴⁸ Seifert writes that for example mass rapes have occurred in all the modern wars, but they have gained worldwide attention only after the atrocities in the Bosnia-Herzegovina war at the beginning of the 1990s.²⁴⁹ In her article Seifert refers to articles about mass raping cases that have taken place in the 20th century.²⁵⁰

The rapes in wars have cultural functions: they also destroy the physical and psychological existence of the victims and harm the collective identity and ethnicity of the whole group. Seifert continues that war crimes against women have a symbolic meaning, and in the contexts of war they are not a sexual but an

²⁴⁶ Schulz 2020, 24–36.

²⁴⁷ Blunt 2002, 404.

²⁴⁸ Seifert 1996, 35.

²⁴⁹ Gender-specific aspects of genocides have been studied for example in *Genocide or Holocaust Studies*.

²⁵⁰ Seifert 1996. To mention some, it is estimated that during the first month of Japanese occupation in Nanking, China in 1937 about 20,000 women were raped, sexually tortured and murdered. In 1943 Moroccan mercenaries serving in the French Army were given a right to rape Italian women on the conquered Italian territory. During the World War II in Korea between 100,000 and 200,000 women were abducted and sexually tortured by the Japanese. Also, the Russian Red Army Troops, after the World War II, systematically raped German women in Berlin area in 1945. The estimation of the number of the raped women varies from conservative 120,000 to 900,000 and similar cases were reported in the other parts of Germany as well. Other examples are the mass rapes of 200,000 in Bangladesh 1971 and about 5,000 in Kuwait during the Iraqi occupation in the 1990's. Derderian (2005) in her article describes the gender-based violence in the Armenian genocide during 1915-1917. In this genocide the violence also included rape, sex slavery and forced marriages during the deportation, as well as compulsory conversion to Islam.

aggressive act. She states that sexual attacks on women must have a collective meaning: they are historical and social processes that are carried out collectively and they cannot be explained, for example, as biology-based genetic aggressiveness.²⁵¹

During the times of war women have been holding the families and communities together. Sexual violence against them is violence against the national – or ethnic - culture as well. Harming women's emotional or physical well-being also aims at harming social and cultural stability, and the psychological effect of sexual violence may lead to the devaluation and dissolution of an entire group. In her article Seifert refers to the Serb strategy in the former Yugoslavia war. They first destroyed the cultural heritage, secondly captured and killed the intellectuals and thirdly established rape camps for women.²⁵²

Raping the counterpart's women in wars also harms the traditional idea of a family and at the same time, the idea of "safe havens" that the home and family represent to many who have been driven away from home.²⁵³

Rape also is one form of torture, an act of hatred, which apart from the physical pain also constitutes an attack on a person's identity, and loss of dignity and self-determination.²⁵⁴ Sexually tortured or raped women may suffer from loss of identity, anxiety, sleeping disorders, nightmares, apathy, as well as from depression or suicidal inclination.²⁵⁵

²⁵¹ Seifert 1996, 36.

²⁵² Seifert 1996, 39.

²⁵³ Appleby 1999, 216.

²⁵⁴ Seifert 1996, 39–41.

²⁵⁵ Seifert 1996, 40. In her article Seifert does not elaborate the sexual violence against men and boys in the wars, although it exists as well, see Schulz 2020.

5 Framing the abduction of the Chibok girls

In this chapter I apply the concepts of framing theory - sourcing, quoting and framing - to the selected Helsingin Sanomat (HS) news data. The data used in this study consists of a total of 105 news texts published in HS from April 2014 to December 2018. Of the news 96 were published in the foreign news section, 5 as editorials and the remaining 3 in other sections of the newspaper. The Culture and Sunday sections in HS feature special thematic articles. The Radio- tv section includes descriptions about upcoming programs.

News categories by year	2014	2015	2016	2017	2018	Total
Culture					1	1
Editorial	4		1			5
Foreign news	57	20	16	1	3	97
Radio-tv	1					1
Sunday	1					1
Grand Total	63	20	17	1	4	105

Table 1. News types per year.

5.1.1 Sourcing patterns

The sources that are referred to in the texts reveal where the news contents came from. Because all the news articles are outcomes of a journalistic production process, I excluded the references to HS's news and HS journalists from the source listing.

The 105 news articles included 196 mentions to 41 different reference sources which were then categorized into nine *source type categories*. The main source type categories in this study were: 1) Boko Haram, 2) Finnish media, 3) Human rights organizations 4) Researchers, international journalists 5) News agency, 6) News media with an international audience,²⁵⁶ 7) Nigerian authorities (government, security, army), 8) Nigerian news media,²⁵⁷ and 9) other. While each of the source types was only counted once per a news item, the total number of source types ended up to be 146.

Table 2 shows the source types used in the news. News agencies were mentioned as sources in 79 of the news (75% of all the news). News medias with an international audience were referenced as sources in 29 of the news (28%).

²⁵⁶ In this category the medias are: Al Jazeera, BBC, CNN, International Business Times, NBC News, Nigeria's hidden war document, Sky News, The Guardian, The New York Times, The Wall Street Journal, Voice of America and The New York Times.

²⁵⁷ This category consists of Nigerian media like Daily Post, Nigerian Tribune, Premium Times and general references to Nigerian newspapers and media.

Almost half of these, 13 in total, referred to the British Broadcasting Company BBC, which traditionally holds a strong presence in the African media space (see in more detail in Table 3). Only 5 of the news (5%) included direct references to Nigerian media. Other Finnish media was referred to as a source in only one of the news.

News items and the used source types (no of the news)	2014 (63)	2015 (20)	2016 (17)	2017 (1)	2018 (4)	No of news total	% of all the news (105)
News agencies	48	15	12	1	3	79	75 %
News media with an international audience	14	7	6	1	1	29	28 %
Human rights organization	5	4	7			16	15 %
Boko Haram	2		4			6	6 %
Nigerian news media	4		1			5	5 %
Researchers and research organizations	1	4				5	5 %
Nigerian authorities (government, security, army)	1	2				3	3 %
Others	2					2	2 %
Finnish media	1					1	1 %

Table 2. Individual news and the source types that were used. One news could contain references to several source types, but each source type was only counted once per a news item.

As described earlier in this study, referring to other media sources may lead to a predefined - and as such simplified - interpretation of reality and the topic at hand.²⁵⁸ On the other hand, it also may be explained with news production challenges, like distance to the events and lack of access to sources or conflict areas or, with reduced media resources, especially in foreign news production. However, scarce references to Nigerian media, a local actor in the conflict area, cannot be explained by access because a lot of the contents were available online.

Human rights organizations consist of Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and UNICEF. The study made by the Finnish Church Aid and the Network for Religious and Traditional Peacemakers²⁵⁹ is also counted in this category. These organizations have published studies on the Boko Haram insurgency and its victims during the years 2014–2016. These were referred to as sources in 16 news (15%). Individual researchers and research organizations who have studied Boko Haram were mentioned in 5 of the news (5%).²⁶⁰

Boko Haram was mentioned as a source due to the videos the contents of which were referred in 2 news in 2014 and 4 news in 2016. The category “Others” included references to two persons; an individual Nigerian interviewee, and the

²⁵⁸ Moy et al 2019.

²⁵⁹ Botha & Abdile, 2016.

²⁶⁰ These research organizations include Council of Foreign Relations Think Tank, Global Terrorism Index and Intel Center.

former U.S. First Lady Michelle Obama. In the news data the individual interviewee seemed to be the only local Nigerian first-hand source, based on the journalist's friendship. The approach of this news item was exceptional as well; a Nigerian middle-class interviewee described the causes of the conflict situation in her own country.²⁶¹ Former U.S. First lady Michelle Obama in turn held a widely cited and internationally referred public speech about the fate of the Nigerian abducted schoolgirls.²⁶² She also has been one of the international promoters in the #BringBackOurGirls worldwide campaign.

The source type listing also revealed the dominant news agencies HS used in the news about Boko Haram (Table 3). Of the news agencies, AFP was mentioned as a source in 51 individual news (49% of total 105), Reuters in 40 news (38%) and Finnish STT in 20 of the news (19%). AFP is the news agency Boko Haram has also used as the channel for the international delivery of its violent videos.²⁶³ Both Boko Haram and Amnesty International were mentioned as sources in 6 news (5%).

The high number of references to news agencies and leading Western media actors is according to the earlier studies about foreign news sourcing patterns in Finnish media. According to these studies most of the foreign news items had been provided by the Western news agencies or via the Finnish News Agency STT.²⁶⁴

Top six source mentions in news items (no of the news)	2014 (63)	2015 (20)	2016 (17)	2017 (1)	2018 (4)	No of news total	% of all the news (105)
AFP (news agency)	34	7	8		2	51	49%
Reuters (news agency)	24	8	5	1	2	40	38%
STT (news agency)	18	2				20	19%
BBC (News media with an international audience)	6	3	3	1		13	12%
Boko Haram	2		4			6	5%
Amnesty International	2	4				6	5%

Table 3. The six most mentioned individual sources in the news.

5.1.2 Quoting patterns

The data used in this study consisted of 105 news from which I recognized a total of 458 direct or referred quotes. The quotes were sorted into seven *quote type categories*: 1) Nigerian authorities (State or local government, army, police forces), 2) Human rights or research organisation, researchers, experts, 3) Public

²⁶¹ N39 (May 25, 2014).

²⁶² N23 (May 10, 2014).

²⁶³ Uwazuruike 2018b, 26.

²⁶⁴ Pietiläinen 1998, 15–28.

persons, activists, others, 4) Boko Haram, 5) Family, resident, school representative, witness 6) Foreign Government, and 7) Victim.²⁶⁵ The number of quotes was reduced to 211 by counting each of the quote types once per an individual news.

Direct or referred quotes in the news (no of the news)	2014 (63)	2015 (20)	2016 (17)	2017 (1)	2018 (4)	No of news total	% of all the news (105)
Nigerian authorities (State or local government, army, police forces)	40	12	12	1	4	69	66%
Human rights or research organisation, researchers, experts	13	9	12			34	32%
Public persons, activists, others	16	2	6		1	25	24%
Boko Haram	18	1	3			22	21%
Family, resident, school representative, witness	14	2	3		2	21	20%
Foreign Government	19	2				21	20%
Victim	8	3	7		1	19	18%
Grand Total	128	31	43	1	8	211	

Table 4. Direct or referred quote source types in the news texts by year. In this table each quote type is counted only once per a news item.

As Table 4 shows, most of the quotes in the news were from the official Nigerian authorities. The authorities were cited in 69 news, which represents 66% of the total amount of the news. This group consisted of Nigerian government representatives, including two presidents Goodluck Jonathan (in office May 6, 2010 – May 29, 2015) and Muhammadu Buhari (in office from May 29, 2015 onwards), army and police forces. Foreign government representatives were quoted in 21 of the news (20%). The high number of official representatives in the news is due to the notion that newspapers prefer official sources in global conflict reporting.²⁶⁶

The second-largest group of quotes was that of the representatives of international human rights organizations, like Human Rights Watch and Amnesty International, as well as researchers and experts who have studied Boko Haram. The representatives of this group were cited in 34 of the 105 news (32%). These citations were mostly related to the publications, documentation, or releases describing the violence of Boko Haram. The human rights organizations campaign globally against abuse and their citations in the news also represented the viewpoints of individual human suffering.

²⁶⁵ These seven quote categories were quite much the same with the 15 categories Confidence Uwazuruike (2018) used in his study about the framing of Boko Haram in Nigerian media.

²⁶⁶ Uwazuruike 2018b; McGoldrick 2006.

Boko Haram was cited in 22 of the news. These were mainly the citations of Boko Haram's leader Abubakar Shekau speeches on Boko Haram's videos.²⁶⁷

Escaped or released victims of Boko Haram were cited in 19 of the news. However, only one of these citations was that of a released Chibok schoolgirl. Family members, residents of the villages, school representatives, and the eyewitnesses of Boko Haram's other cruelties were cited in 21 of the news (20%).

The group "Public persons, activists, others" refers to quotes of uncategorized individual sources like civil force representatives, former fighters of Boko Haram, intelligence sources, international observers and representatives of local peacebuilding organizations and activists fighting Boko Haram, as well as public persons like celebrities and politicians.

5.1.3 Frame theme patterns

In this study I categorized the news paragraphs into twelve frame theme categories that emerged from the contents of the news. The recognized frames refer to how the content was presented in the Helsingin Sanomat news; the selective aspect of how the events were written about and described. Most of the paragraphs represented only one theme, like the description of Nigerian background, but with some I had to consider the most appropriate theme category and decide into which category to put it. Due to this, the categorization may be subjective and some of the paragraphs could have fallen into another theme category as well. From the 105 news I was able to recognize a total of 434 frame themes.

Like in the case of source and quoting patterns, I reduced the number of the references to thematic frames so that each of the recognized frames was only counted once per news. Due to this I refer to the number of the news, not to that of paragraphs. Each of the news may fall into several thematic categories.

The recognized 12 frame themes were then grouped into four frame theme groups (see Table 5). The first group includes descriptions about the circumstances in Nigerian and the rise of Boko Haram. The second group, Government inactivity and politics, includes news about the government interventions and inactivity in dealing with the conflict and related interventions by both Nigerian and foreign governments and other parties. This category also

²⁶⁷ These videos of Boko Haram were also used as the main images of the news.

includes the contents that refer to politics and negotiation attempts to solve the situation, as well as to mistrust and false news.

The third frame theme group, Terrorism and violence, is about the news that describe terrorism in its various forms, including the abductions of the Chibok schoolgirls and other attacks made by Boko Haram or other parties of the Nigerian conflict. The fourth group, Community and compassion, comprises of news describing the reactions of the community, mentions of escapes or releases, and the victims' voices describing the experiences. Also, the frames describing international compassion, like the #BringBackOurGirls campaign, were counted in the sub-category of community reaction.

Frame theme groups in the texts	Theme present in no of news	% of all the news (105)
Understanding the circumstances		
Nigerian background	14	13 %
Religious and ethnic diversity	9	9 %
Boko Haram objectives or description	58	55 %
Government inactivity and politics		
Government or security intervention or control	37	35 %
False news and mistrust	30	29 %
Politics, negotiations, international interventions	58	55 %
Terrorism and violence		
The missing Chibok schoolgirls	78	74 %
Terrorism, violence	35	33 %
Other attacks	48	46 %
Community and compassion		
Community reaction	33	31 %
Escape or release	16	15 %
Victim's perspective	18	17 %
Total number of recognized frames in the news	434	

Table 5. Frame themes perceived in the news paragraphs. A frame theme was only counted once per a news item although it could have been recognized in several of its paragraphs. Also, multiple frame themes may have been perceived in a news item.

In this part of the study I elaborate on each of the frame theme groups and their sub-categories with examples rising from the HS news data.

5.2 Understanding the circumstances

To understand Boko Haram one must understand the circumstances where the group's insurgency has taken place. As discussed earlier, Finnish newspapers have been largely Western-oriented and the share of foreign news about developing countries is low. The news are mostly negative, concentrate on crisis,

are one-sided, and avoid dealing with complex phenomena.²⁶⁸ The African continent is easily portrayed as unstable, underdeveloped and in conflict. News about African countries get coverage in the Western media when there is a big event, a pending catastrophe, or a disaster.²⁶⁹ For this, it was necessary to study how the Nigerian background was framed in the news data of this study.

In this frame theme group I divided the background information into three sub-categories: the Nigerian background, Religious and ethnic diversity, and Boko Haram's objectives and description. The Nigerian background in general was described in 14 of the news (13%). Religious diversity or discussion about the religious situation in the country is present only in nine of the news (9%). Boko Haram's objectives and description of their activities were described in more than half of the news (58 news, 55%).

5.2.1 Nigerian background

Of the 105 news 14 included a description of the Nigerian background and basic information about the country. Descriptions in the texts mostly concentrated on the dichotomy of the country, on one hand on the division into the poor and rural North with conditions like a state of emergency and into the richer South with good infrastructure and, on the other hand on the division into the Christian South and the Muslim North. The dichotomy was present in the HS editorials as well.²⁷⁰

Further tensions are caused by the fact that Muslims in Northern Nigeria and Christians in southern Nigeria have never found a common tone in an arbitrarily assembled state. The country lacks a common history. (N6)²⁷¹

The North is extremely poor, the South less poor. The country of 170 million people still has enormous natural resources such as oil. Earlier this year, Nigeria overtook South Africa and became Africa's largest economy. At the same time, the northern parts of the country are living in conditions resembling civil war. Three states in the North - Borno, Yobe and Adamawa - have had a state of emergency since May last year due to the terror of Boko Haram. (N15)²⁷²

Nigeria's long colonial history under British rule was mentioned only in passing in four of the news in the context of the school system of Western missionaries, urban and developed Southern Nigeria, and country borders that date back to the colonial time in Africa.²⁷³

²⁶⁸ Pietiläinen 1998,

²⁶⁹ Ndlela 2005.

²⁷⁰ N6 (April 30, 2014).

²⁷¹ N6 (April 30, 2014).

²⁷² N15 (May 6, 2014).

²⁷³ N15 (May 6, 2014), N39 (May 25, 2014), N84 (February 25, 2015).

The threat of Boko Haram's attacks caused the postponing of Nigeria's presidential elections in 2015, and this topic was discussed in many of the news. Nigerian democracy, in turn, was referred to in the statements of Boko Haram, but the realization of it was not discussed more widely. One of the news items highlighted the military forces' growing influence on politics, and made a democracy-related notion about the journalists' restricted access to country.²⁷⁴ One news dealt with a study of the former Boko Haram fighters and their faith in influencing through the democracy.

The sect wants to re-establish the pre-colonial Islamic state to Northern Nigeria. The group's charismatic leader, Muhammed Jusuf, driving a Mercedes-Benz, has a group of converted followers from the impoverished of the North, who are violently opposed to westernization, democracy and the modern education system. (15)²⁷⁵

Now the concern is once again the growing influence of the armed forces in politics. The nervousness of the security apparatus is also reflected in the fact that Nigeria has denied visas to dozens of foreign journalists (N84)²⁷⁶

Although Boko Haram is fighting with arms, at least some members also believe in the power of influencing through the democratic system. Nearly half of the interviewed fighters voted in the previous elections. (114)²⁷⁷

By its area, Nigeria is the 31st biggest country in the world with a land area of 923,769 square km (about three times the size of Finland).²⁷⁸ In the descriptions of Boko Haram the news generally referred to its objective of establishing an Islamic state in Northern Nigeria. One of the news gave a perspective to the size of the area Boko Haram governs, however, this area has been varying due to the battles with the government and army.

Until a year and a half ago, Boko Haram ruled an area about the size of Belgium: villages, towns and roads. Now, however, its fighters have been driven to hide in the vast and difficult-to-navigate forests of Northeast Nigeria. (N113)²⁷⁹

The geography of Northern Nigeria, especially the rough and difficult-to-cross forest Sambisa was present in many of the news. The forest forms a home base for Boko Haram fighters, and Boko Haram has been taking its abductees there. The government's attempts to enter the forest have mainly failed, and the forest was depicted as the territory of Boko Haram.

²⁷⁴ N84 (February 25, 2015).

²⁷⁵ N15 (May 6, 2014).

²⁷⁶ N84 (February 25, 2015).

²⁷⁷ N114 (October 3, 2016).

²⁷⁸ Britannica.

²⁷⁹ N113 (August 28, 2016).

The news also contained many references to cities and villages in Northeastern Nigeria that were attacked by Boko Haram. The attacks to these residences were depicted as events containing killings, attacks to schools and universities, destruction of houses and escaping people. However, many of the cities and villages are lively markets and have wide agricultural sources of living. This perspective was not present in the news data, and the residences were depicted just as Boko Haram's targets.

5.2.2 Religious and ethnic diversity

Although Boko Haram is a violent religious extremist group, and the group's objective of establishing an Islamic state under the Sharia law in Northern Nigeria was mentioned in many of the news, religion was discussed only briefly. Likewise, there were only a few references to the ethnic richness of the country. Religion and ethnic diversity were present in 9 of the news (9%).

Nigerian religious leaders have a visible role in politics, and their role affects the religion and vice versa. One of the news told about the statement 36 state leaders gave about the purity of the doctrine of Boko Haram and the interpretation of Islam it represents. The 36 Nigerian state leaders, by common consent, condemned the doctrine and jihad Boko Haram represents.²⁸⁰ The activities of the movement were recognized to be a war against all Nigerians.

"We reached a consensus that Boko Haram is not waging a religious war. It is waging a war against all Nigerians," the statement said according to the news agency Reuters. (N5)²⁸¹

The state leaders giving a statement on religion also depicted the intertwined relation of religion and politics in Nigeria; politicians use religion as a tool to get to power and the religious leaders are using it to gain a personal advantage in relation to those in the power. Like Afolabi writes in his article, the relation has been complicated ever since Nigeria got its independence.²⁸² This complex relation, however, was not discussed in the news data.

The terminology defining Boko Haram or the violence it perpetrates seemed to vary. In the news Boko Haram's actions were extremism or religious

²⁸⁰ N5 (April 26, 2014)

²⁸¹ N5 (April 26, 2014).

²⁸² Afolabi 2015.

fanaticism. One of the news stated that “in Nigerian terror, religious fanaticism and robbery, clothed in the cloak of religion, are shaking hands.”²⁸³

There was no wider discussion in the news about the definition of the doctrine Boko Haram represents. The reason may lie in mainstream Western secularism (value liberalism) in the newspapers and, in the religious phenomena being culturally far.²⁸⁴ Due to this, the most appropriate way seems to be handling the matter with a dichotomy; a conflict that escalates mostly between Christians and Muslims, and geographically between South and North. However, this simplified division also may reinforce the bias to associate Islam with all kinds of terrorism. It also ignores the fact that over one billion Muslims throughout the world desire peaceful coexistence of all people of all religions, and resist terrorism and violence in all its forms.²⁸⁵ Moderate Muslims were mentioned in the context of conflict and conflict resolution.

"Terror against girls raises strong anti-Islamic sentiments and reactions in the rest of the world. Moderate Islamic forces and states would do themselves a great favour by defeating these cowardly terrorist groups together with the international community." (N19)²⁸⁶

"There have been struggles in the region between different branches of Islam. More violent Muslims have fought against more moderate ones. In the background, there has been criticism against the power elite, which is considered greedy and corrupt." (N35)²⁸⁷

In the news researchers put the Boko Haram phenomena and religion into a wider perspective. Although Nigerian jihadism was connected to the wider global phenomena of Islamic jihad, and Boko Haram proclaimed its connections to ISIS and other extreme Islamist groups in Africa, the movements have had their own special characteristics.

“It would be an exaggeration to consider these as one cohesive group, even though they have similar thoughts,” Botha says. (N84)²⁸⁸

One of the news²⁸⁹ discussed the role of religion in the future development of Africa, including Nigeria. Africa has played a major role in advancing

²⁸³ N19 (May 9, 2014)

²⁸⁴ Sumiala-Seppänen 2006.

²⁸⁵ Ezeah & Emmanuel 2016. By 2010, there are about 1.6 billion Muslims around the world. Islam is the world's second-largest religious tradition after Christianity. See Pew Research Center (2017).

²⁸⁶ N19 (May 9, 2014).

²⁸⁷ N35 (May 18, 2014).

²⁸⁸ N84 (February 25, 2015)

²⁸⁹ N35 (May 18, 2014).

tolerance between religions in the world. In the news a researcher stated that the rise of extremist movements during the last 15–20 years has escalated the tension between Christians and Muslims in Africa. The conflicts in Africa seem to concentrate on the geographical line - that also divides the world religions - from Sierra Leone to Ethiopia. Nigeria has been a battlefield of jihadists for centuries, and the conflict has not always been between Christians and Muslims, but between the different branches of Islam. The conflicts also have their connection in politics and social circumstances. There has also been criticism against the “greed and corrupted” power elite.²⁹⁰ In the news HS did not specify who form the ruling elite.

Frustration, economic problems and a lack of social cohesion are leading to instigators gaining a foothold.

The same elements can be seen in the current conflict. Nigeria has risen to become the continent’s largest economy, largely due to the oil trade. The ruling elite has gotten richer, but the northern parts of the country have been neglected, despite whether the ruler of the country has been a Christian or a Muslim.

What is new about the situation in Nigeria is that the events are linked to the ideology of global jihadism. (N35)²⁹¹

From the several religious groups in Nigeria the news item took the Pentecostal movement, representing Christian extremism, as a reference to extreme Islam. Although Christians do not commit similar terrorist acts like Boko Haram, the rise of Christian fundamentalism, especially the Pentecostal movement with its American roots, has had its impact on the escalation. According to the news item, as such, the fundamentalism represents Christian extremism. However, religious movements have also had a role in peacebuilding: by preaching peace the religions can accomplish much good.²⁹²

The publications of Human rights and research organizations were cited in a total of 16 news. One of these studies, made in cooperation with the Finnish Church Aid, discussed the role of religion in Boko Haram’s recruitment. The study stated that religion played a minor role in deciding to join Boko Haram, however, many former Boko Haram fighters were dissatisfied with Boko Haram not following the teachings of Islam.²⁹³

57 percent of former fighters interviewed said the main reason to join Boko Haram was the desire to revenge. Religion as the main reason for joining was cited by only about

²⁹⁰ N35 (May 18, 2014).

²⁹¹ N35 (May 18, 2014).

²⁹² N35(May 18, 2014).

²⁹³ N114 (October 3, 2016).

nine percent of respondents. Other reasons to join included unemployment, poverty and the desire to be feared. (N114)²⁹⁴

This news item also widened the perspective to Boko Haram related conflicts in Northern Nigeria; the study it referred states that Boko Haram's activities are strongly related to the relations of local ethnic groups in Northern Nigeria. In addition to this news there was only one other mention of the ethnic diversity in Nigeria.²⁹⁵

5.2.3 Boko Haram objectives or description

Boko Haram's objectives or a description of the movement were presented in 58 of the news. A typical paragraph describing the extreme movement included information about the movement's presence in Northern Nigeria, descriptions of its violent actions and, for an example, mainly a brief reference to the case of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls. The description of Boko Haram was repetitive and consistent in almost all the news; Boko Haram was profiled as a unified group that makes violent attacks against targets that are related to Western ideologies or education.

The modus operandi of the Boko Haram Islamists who terrorize Northern Nigeria has become regrettably familiar in recent years. Members of the movement kill, mutilate, rob and rape their innocent victims. Boko Haram strikes everywhere it smells anything with even a hint of Western flavour: Christian churches, markets, restaurants and especially schools. (N6)²⁹⁶

Boko Haram has abducted women, children and young men several times across Nigeria. One of the most famous incidents happened last April when terrorists abducted 276 schoolgirls. Most of them have still not been found. (N78)²⁹⁷

The definition of Boko Haram seemed to vary in the news. When referring to Boko Haram, the terms used in the news were "extreme Islamic movement", "Islamic movement", "Islamic group" or simply "Islamists" as well as "Jihad movement" or "jihadists" without defining what kind of branch of Islam lies behind the rise or the movement. The terms "sect", "Islamic rebel group" and "movement" were also used.²⁹⁸

The video speeches of the leader of Boko Haram, Abubakar Shekau, were cited directly in 15 of the news. In these Shekau described the objectives of Boko

²⁹⁴ N114 (October 3, 2016).

²⁹⁵ N114 (October 3, 2016); N84 (February 25, 2015).

²⁹⁶ N6 (April 30, 2014).

²⁹⁷ N78 (January 16, 2015).

²⁹⁸ N35 (May 18, 2014).

Haram, blustered about the fate of the abducted schoolgirls, or expressed Boko Haram's desire to exchange the schoolgirls for Boko Haram fighters. Representatives of Boko Haram were cited in 20 news in total.

The abduction of the girls and the descriptions of Boko Haram as a dangerous terrorist movement reinforced the movement's attempt to build an image of being an international threat and to capture international news media headlines.²⁹⁹ The abducted schoolgirls' case with international attention has also served as a means of bargaining with the government.

Third of the four HS editorials³⁰⁰ concentrating on the Boko Haram driven terrorism and its development in Nigeria stated that the kidnapping of European hostages (a French family in 2013) turned the international attention to the events in Nigeria and ended up in the U.S. finally adding Boko Haram to the list of foreign terrorist organizations. The writing also called for determination to put an end to Boko Haram's activities and reflected the inefficiency of the Nigerian government and the international restraint in reacting to the case.

The faceless terror plaguing Nigeria only rose to world awareness after Boko Haram abducted more than 200 teenage schoolgirls in mid-April and announced plans to sell them as slaves. Even after that, waking up to the situation has taken a few weeks for the world. (N25)³⁰¹

The aim of being an international terrorist organization was declaring the cooperation with ISIS which, seemingly, has not been widely or even well-known inside the organization.³⁰² Boko Haram has not limited its attacks to only Nigeria, but the neighbouring countries as well.

Boko Haram operates mainly in Nigeria but has also made cross-border attacks on the Niger and Cameroon side. The goal of the organization is to establish an Islamic caliphate governed by its extreme interpretations of Islam. (N80)³⁰³

Boko Haram has made an alliance agreement with the Islamist organization Isis which occupies parts of Iraq and Syria. However, practical cooperation is limited, according to experts. (N104)³⁰⁴

The organization now calls itself the West African province of Isis. (N107)³⁰⁵

²⁹⁹ N114 (October 3, 2016); Nwaubani 2018.

³⁰⁰ N25 (May 11, 2014).

³⁰¹ N25 (May 11, 2014).

³⁰² N114 (October 3, 2016).

³⁰³ N80 (January 17, 2015).

³⁰⁴ N104 (April 12, 2016).

³⁰⁵ N107 (April 14, 2016).

The descriptions of Boko Haram's operations included references to numbers of deported or killed people and the role of abducted people. While the news mostly depicted the uses of women and girls, some of the news also contained information about the fate of boys and men who also face extreme violence if they resist to convert to Boko Haram's interpretation of Islam or join the movement.

Young men abducted by terrorists have been killed if they have not agreed to join the ranks of the organization. Younger boys have been trained child soldiers. The fate of girls and women has been suspected to be the role of wives and servants, but it may be that at least for some of them the terrorists have instead reserved the grim task of becoming a suicide bomber. (N78)³⁰⁶

Women are forced into becoming sex slaves or wives for the fighters. Some are forced to be fighters, and they may even have to attack their home villages and kill their former neighbours. Everyone is forced to convert to Boko Haram's version of Islam. (N88)³⁰⁷

One of the news in describing Boko Haram also described the disparity in the actions of Boko Haram: how the bragging of the fighters is based on targeting the weakest victims, like women and girls.

Ugochi says Boko Haram likes easy victims. The easiest are the girls. The hijackers have kept repeating that the girls have no rights. Yet Boko Haram cannot be directly compared to the Talebans, who oppose the education of girls. Boko Haram opposes Western education in general. Since the abduction, the organization has killed hundreds of people, mostly boys. (N39)³⁰⁸

There were several estimations about the number of the victims and the impact of Boko Haram's attacks. The numbers incoherently varied depending on the source used in the news. Comparing numbers outside Boko Haram's operations was rare, which made it difficult to figure out the amplitude of the presented numbers.

The independent think tank American Council on Foreign Relations estimated that Boko Haram had caused more than ten thousand violent deaths between November 2013 and November 2014. One and a half million people have already had to leave their homes because of Boko Haram. The much-talked-about Ebola epidemic killed about 8,400 people in West Africa last year. (N82)³⁰⁹

Boko Haram has been terrorizing the Northeastern part of Nigeria for seven years. As many as 20,000 people are believed to have died and more than two million have been

³⁰⁶ N78 (January 16, 2015).

³⁰⁷ N88 (April 14, 2015).

³⁰⁸ N39 (May 25, 2014).

³⁰⁹ N82 (January 21, 2015).

forced to flee their homes in 2009 after the fighting. The fighting has also spread to neighbour countries Cameroon, Chad, and Niger. (N112)³¹⁰

5.3 Government inactivity and politics

The government's actions and interventions were described in 37 of the 105 news. However, many of the statements of the authorities seemed to be incoherent, or even confusing, and this together with the government's inactivity in resolving the Chibok schoolgirls' case also has raised wide mistrust in the government's actions. This was openly stated in the news as well.

The Chibok schoolgirls' case also raised international awareness and other countries offered their help in fighting Boko Haram and in releasing the girls. The aspect of politics, negotiations and international interventions was present in 58 of the news (55%).

In this frame theme group I elaborate on the Nigerian government's inactivity and politics with three frame categories that were recognized in the news data: Government or security interventions and control, False news and mistrust, and Politics, negotiations, and international interventions.

5.3.1 Government or security intervention and control

Right from the start when the Chibok schoolgirls' case became public, the Nigerian government and security forces declared their intention to find and set free the abducted girls. The information, however, was delayed and confusing, containing even lies. The authorities also frequently gave statements about what went on with the case, but on the face of it the efforts remained highly ineffective. The HS news also reflected this unclarity and the local residents' distrust in government's attempts. The Nigerian government's and security forces' interventions and control over the situation was present in 37 of the news (35%).

Nigerian security officials say they have launched a major operation to find the girls. However, some residents in the area are sceptical of the promises. (N3)³¹¹

The master of this wilderness is Boko Haram, in front of which the Nigerian government seems powerless. Either the government is planning massive operations to rescue the girls. Or it just doesn't care. (N8)³¹²

³¹⁰ N112 (August 23, 2016).

³¹¹ N3 (April 19, 2014)

³¹² N8 (May 3, 2014)

The editorial of HS,³¹³ referring to a regional newspaper *Keskisuomalainen* reflected the scale of the unsuccessful rescue operations of the Chibok schoolgirls by making a comparison to a plane accident that took place almost at the same time.³¹⁴ The editorial stated that forgetting the schoolgirls was telling about attitudes:

“Girls and young women, captured into sex slavery for the rest of their lives, have been in the unknown for weeks. At the same time, elsewhere, as many as 25 countries were feverishly searching for a plane that had crashed into the sea, and whose passengers could no longer be alive.” (N19)³¹⁵

The news contained frequently both the state and federal government representatives’ statements about the attempts to save the girls. The case became a scene for Nigerian internal politics and international interventions. The president also declared war against Boko Haram and authorized the troops to use any legal means to fight it - although there already had been a state-of-war like situation in the area.³¹⁶

The Nigerian army sends two military divisions to search for the abducted schoolgirls. Soldiers are being sent to Northeastern Nigeria to the state of Borno, where they are cooperating with, among others, the police. A division usually has about 10,000 to 20,000 soldiers. (N24)³¹⁷

The President did not specify what such means meant. For more than a year, the areas terrorized by Boko Haram have been in a state of emergency and under a full-scale military operation. Despite this, Nigerian forces have been unable to protect civilians in the region. (N41)³¹⁸

The Chibok case led to public demonstrations and rallies in the capital Abuja. However, president Goodluck Jonathan banned the public rallies saying that they should be targeted against the Islamists, not the government.³¹⁹

After the abduction of the Chibok girls there were many other attacks that took place in schools and public places. The news described how the abductions became politically sensitive and how the authorities published the news with delays and with uncertain claims.³²⁰ One of the news also described how the Nigerian army detained one businessman who was suspected to have been

³¹³ N19 (May 9, 2014).

³¹⁴ Reuters (2014) tells how the Malaysian Airlines flight 370 heading from Kuala Lumpur to Beijing disappeared on March 8, 2014 causing 239 fatalities.

³¹⁵ N19 (May 9, 2014).

³¹⁶ N41 (May 29, 2014).

³¹⁷ N24 (May 10, 2014).

³¹⁸ N41 (May 29, 2014).

³¹⁹ N42 (June 3, 2014).

³²⁰ N36 (June 24, 2014).

involved in the Chibok schoolgirls' case as well as other attacks.³²¹ The fate of the detained remained untold in the news, and made publishing this kind of a detail confusing in a larger-scale view.

In June 2014 the news cited a report published by the Nigerian army. Despite the previous news about releasing the girls and the army knowing where they were kept,³²² the confusing news was, that Nigerian authorities suspended the investigation aiming at finding the girls.³²³

In addition to those abducted last week, the more than 200 schoolgirls abducted by Boko Haram in April are still missing. On Friday, Nigerian authorities closed investigations of the case with almost no results. (N46)³²⁴

The releases or citations by the spokesmen of the Nigerian army were sources or direct quotes in many of the news conveyed by the news agencies. The army seemed to use exact numbers and details in its releases, however, many of the numbers were later corrected by residents, and the releases seemed to be unreliable. As an example, the Nigerian army had claimed three times that Boko Haram's leader Abubakar Shekau was dead, but the news later turned out to be false. Also the identity of Shekau, in an attack against Boko Haram seemed to be unclear.³²⁵ This case also reflected the news production process where the news agency transmitting content concerning a distant event seemed to have been published without further criticism.

Olukolade pointed out on Wednesday that the true identity of the Boko Haram leader is not important. According to the Major General, the name Shekau has become a brand name for terrorists.

"The Nigerian army is determined to bring to justice anyone who uses this name and terrorists who want to harm Nigeria's territory and freedom," Olukolade added. (N59)³²⁶

The news also revealed unjust proceedings by the official counterparties in Nigeria. The case reflected the confusing and violent situation in the country, where all the parties of the conflict, the government representatives as well the terrorists, might have been taking the same violent actions. Authorities using incompetent and unarmed civilian forces in armed conflicts or sentencing soldiers

³²¹ N49 (July 1, 2014).

³²² N54 (July 31, 2014).

³²³ N46 (June 24, 2014).

³²⁴ N46 (June 24, 2014).

³²⁵ N59 (September 25, 2014).

³²⁶ N59 (September 25, 2014).

to death without decent juridical proceedings would be an act against human rights in the Western countries and as such, a big news.

The military has been accused of outsourcing front-line fighting to the responsibility of volunteer villagers and hunters. Volunteers have little training and their weapons are miserable.

On Wednesday, an army field court sentenced 54 soldiers to death for rebelling because they refused to attack Boko Haram. The soldiers said they did not have enough weapons. The case reflects the difficulties the army has in fighting the rebels, with even its own soldiers accusing the army of using them only as cannon fodder against heavily armed rebels. (N72)³²⁷

The news also covered stories on how the residents of villages suffered from the random attacks of government forces and the army.

Innocent civilians have also suffered in the airstrikes. On Tuesday, a Nigerian fighter bombed a village on the Niger side where people had gathered for a funeral. 36 people died. According to Nigeria, the pilot of the plane had thought the villagers were fleeing insurgents. (N83)³²⁸

“When the military attacks, it could destroy an entire village and kill people no matter who they are,” says Mahdi Abdile, another author of the study. He leads work against violent radicalization with the Finnish Church Aid. (N114)³²⁹

5.3.2 False news and mistrust

Typical of the news about Boko Haram was the constant ambiguity of the event reporting, especially when the news was citing the Nigerian authorities. The Nigerian government’s releases also contained false information, even lies. False news or the reflection of mistrust was found as a frame in 30 of the 105 news (29%).

The case of Chibok schoolgirls’ abduction in April 2014 reflected the uses of ambiguity information well. The army representatives first declared the number of abducted schoolgirls in Chibok to be eight.³³⁰ Later the number was corrected to be 129, but according to the parents, the correct number was 230.³³¹ Two days after the attack the spokesman of the Nigerian army had declared that the girls had all been rescued, but the school representatives and relatives of the abducted girls revealed that the statement was false.³³² Amnesty International later revealed that

³²⁷ N72 (December 18, 2014).

³²⁸ N83 (February 19, 2015).

³²⁹ N114 (October 3, 2016).

³³⁰ N2 (April 17, 2014).

³³¹ N4 (April 21, 2014).

³³² N5 (April 26, 2014).

the army was – hours in advance – aware of the attack to the Chibok school but did not take any measures to prevent it.³³³

A local Nigerian interviewee explained the authorities' inactivity with the poor work conditions of the police and army forces and the negligence of the government and the president.³³⁴

I ask what Ugochi thinks of the Amnesty report. "I wasn't surprised," she says. "In the military and police no one has received their salaries for a long time. They're not risking their lives because of the schoolgirls."

Ugochi accounts the situation to the negligence of the Nigerian government and president.

"Because of corruption, money never ends up where it should. Boko Haram can do anything because the police and military are in a miserable state. Boko Haram only gains power because the government is even more wretched." (N39)³³⁵

In the news there were many more examples of false or unclear information. In October 2014 the head of the Nigerian army said there was an agreement on a ceasefire and on the release of the schoolgirls with Boko Haram, but just some days after the statement Boko Haram attacked again.³³⁶

The editorial of HS³³⁷, half a year after the Chibok event, also referred to the inefficiency of the Nigerian military forces and the prevalent mistrust towards the Nigerian government. It also noted that in focusing attention on ISIS terrorist attacks and violence in Iraq and Syria, the world's news feeds had forgotten about Boko Haram's blind violence and the abducted 200 schoolgirls.

On January 7, 2015, two terrorists entered the office of the weekly magazine Charlie Hebdo in Paris, France killing 12 persons and injuring 11. Four days earlier Boko Haram had invaded the remoted city of Baga, killing about 2,000 people. HS first wrote about the Baga attack on January 9th, 2015. According to estimates by human rights organizations, based on satellite images, about 3,700 buildings had been destroyed in Baga.

Kano. Fighters from the jihadist organization Boko Haram have destroyed a dozen towns and villages in Northeastern Nigeria this week, local authorities say. According to the authorities, villages and towns have been burned to the ground.

Many villagers have fled the attacks to the islands of Lake Chad. Authorities say at least a hundred people have been killed in the city of Bagan alone last night. (N76)³³⁸

³³³ N20 (May 9, 2014).

³³⁴ N39 (May 25, 2014).

³³⁵ N39 (May 25, 2014).

³³⁶ N62 (October 17, 2014); N63 (October 18, 2014).

³³⁷ N61 (October 6, 2014).

³³⁸ N76 (January 9, 2015).

The attack proved to be one of the cruellest in the history of Boko Haram. The Nigerian authorities or president Goodluck Jonathan did not comment on it, nor did any other African country leaders. The event did not get much coverage in the Nigerian newspapers. Instead, Jonathan gave a statement calling for mutual actions of peace, progress and freedom-lovers against the brutality that was seen in Paris. HS commented on the access to the remote areas and other difficulties in reporting.³³⁹

Jonathan said nothing about the massacre in his own country that week. No apologies, no condemnation, nothing. Surprisingly, Baga did not initially become particularly big news in the African media, not even in Nigeria. The big reason was the difficulty of reporting. The areas controlled by Boko Haram in Northeast Nigeria are inaccessible to outsiders. Acquiring information requires resources and is dangerous. (N79)³⁴⁰

International media was criticized for giving less attention to the event in Baga than to the Charlie Hebdo attack in Paris. However, international news agencies and big media houses like BBC and Al-Jazeera reported on Baga first.³⁴¹

The HS news noted that both the Nigerian army and Boko Haram had a tendency of overstating their success as well as understating their losses.³⁴² Due to this, the news about their actions was not considered trustworthy³⁴³ and there was suspicion that the Nigerian government had not taken any measures to find and release the captured children and women.³⁴⁴

In March 2016, the newspapers cited Human Rights Watch's release about the abduction of more than 300 children in November 2014. This news also confirmed the government's inactivity and unwillingness to publish transparent news.³⁴⁵

Boko Haram attacked Damascus on November 24, 2014. The attack killed more than 200 people, according to village elders interviewed by the news agency AFP. Boko Haram fighters immediately took over the school in the village and locked the school's 300 students there. According to HRW, the pupils were between the ages of 7 and 17. "Three hundred children have been missing for a year, and yet there has been not a word from the Nigerian government," HRW researcher Mausi Segun said in a statement on the organisation's website. "The government did not want the news to spread." (N102)³⁴⁶

³³⁹ N79 (January 17, 2015).

³⁴⁰ N79 (January 17, 2015).

³⁴¹ N79 (January 17, 2015).

³⁴² N93 (May 2, 2015).

³⁴³ N88 (April 14, 2015).

³⁴⁴ N102 (March 31, 2016).

³⁴⁵ N122 (February 26, 2018).

³⁴⁶ N102 (March 31, 2016).

Boko Haram continued its violent attacks and abducted more than a hundred schoolgirls in Dapchi in February 2018. The Nigerian government continued publishing information that turned out to be incorrect, again:

The Nigerian government confirmed on Sunday that 110 girls have disappeared since last week's attack on the school by the jihadist organization Boko Haram, AFP news agency reported.

It took several days for the country's leaders to admit the disappearance of young schoolchildren. Initially, authorities denied that anyone had been abducted in connection with the attack. (N122)³⁴⁷

President Muhammadu Buhari later apologized to the parents of the abducted children.

"This is a national disaster. We are sorry that this could have happened," he said, according to AFP. (N122)³⁴⁸

The government of Nigeria has not only controlled public information about Boko Haram, but also access to the released Chibok schoolgirls. After about half of them were released after negotiations with Boko Haram in October 2016 and February 2018, the girls were taken to a government's safe house in the capital Abuja. An international filming group stayed in the house for one week making a document of the girls' lives in freedom. The brief about the tv-document in HS also told about government control:

103 young women were freed from the clutches of terrorists - now they and their stories are closely guarded by the Nigerian state.

The HBO documentary depicts women released from the terrorist group Boko Haram. The work is most interesting when it tells about state control. (N125)³⁴⁹

5.3.3 Politics, negotiations, interventions

A total of 58 of the news (55%) dealt with politics, negotiations and various kinds of international interventions to solve the conflict between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram.

After the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls, the negotiations for their release between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram advanced very slowly. According to the news, Boko Haram's stand was clearly stated in the videos it published; it aimed at exchanging the girls for the captured Boko Haram fighters. The Nigerian government was stated to be opposed to the exchange.

³⁴⁷ N122 (February 26, 2018).

³⁴⁸ N122 (February 26, 2018).

³⁴⁹ N125 (October 26, 2018).

Nigerian extreme Islamist organization Boko Haram said in a video released on Monday that it would release the girls, abducted in April, if the movement's imprisoned fighters were also released. The Nigerian interior minister said it did not intend to agree to the demands. (N29)³⁵⁰

HS news also told how Nigeria received offers of international aid to resolve the situation. One of the "peacebuilders" was the Nobel Peace Prize winner Malala Yousafzai, a Pakistani girl who was injured in a Taleban attack in 2012 and since then had been campaigning for human rights. Yousafzai came to Nigeria to have a meeting with the Nigerian president.³⁵¹

Many countries offered help to fight Boko Haram. In October 2014, the Chadian president Idriss Deby and authorities from Cameroon acted as mediators in negotiations held in Saudi Arabia between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram.³⁵² Both Boko Haram and Nigeria stated that a ceasefire had been agreed on.³⁵³ The Nigerian government also said that the negotiations on liberating the abducted schoolgirls had been successful.³⁵⁴ However, in November Boko Haram published a video where they denied the ceasefire.

Nigerian internal politics were visibly present in the news about Boko Haram and the abducted Chibok schoolgirls. The country held presidential elections in the spring of 2015. The elections were described to have become difficult, and the voting percentage was predicted to be low due to the tense situation in Northeastern Nigeria.³⁵⁵ Because of the threat of Boko Haram's attacks, the elections were postponed from February 2015 to the end of March. The presidential elections also reduced the government's willingness to intervene in the operations of Boko Haram.

Nigeria is the most populous country in Africa (with 170 million inhabitants), the largest economy in Africa and a major oil producer. The country's presidential and parliamentary elections this year have reduced the willingness of the state leaders to intervene with Boko Haram. (N82)³⁵⁶

Goodluck Jonathan lost the elections to the former military leader Muhammadu Buhari.³⁵⁷ According to experts' estimations, the failure in resolving of the conflicts with Boko Haram and the Chibok schoolgirls case played a part in

³⁵⁰ N29 (May 13, 2014).

³⁵¹ N52 (July 14, 2014).

³⁵² N62 (October 17, 2014).

³⁵³ N63 (October 18, 2014).

³⁵⁴ N68 (October 28, 2014).

³⁵⁵ N79 (January 17, 2015).

³⁵⁶ N82 (January 21, 2015).

³⁵⁷ N84 (February 25, 2015).

the loss of Jonathan.³⁵⁸ The new president Buhari again promised to do his all to liberate the girls.³⁵⁹

The situation with Boko Haram seemed to remain unchanged. In December 2015 and August 2016, the news cited videos released by Boko Haram demanding the exchange of its captured fighters with the Chibok schoolgirls.³⁶⁰ This time the response was consent and the Nigerian president gave an acquiescing response at the end of August.

The Nigerian government would be ready to negotiate with Boko Haram leaders on the hostages, Buhari reiterated on Sunday. According to the president, Boko Haram would choose one of the foreign organizations to be a mediator. (113)³⁶¹

In October 2016 the news told about successful negotiations and a happy reunion; 21 of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls are released and returned to their families.³⁶²

“This is only the first step. We believe that the rest of the girls will also be released. We have already started new negotiations,” Nigerian Information Minister Lai Muhammad said, according to Reuters. (N116)³⁶³

In December 2016 the Nigerian army reported that one of the Chibok schoolgirls had been found with a baby.³⁶⁴ Still, 200 schoolgirls remained missing. Some of them were reported to have died or disappeared.³⁶⁵

A weakened Boko Haram released a new group of Chibok schoolgirls in May 2017, and Nigeria, in turn, released Boko Haram fighters. The anonymous governmental source in the news said the number of liberated girls to be 82, but the information was not verified, nor the number of the released fighters. Peace negotiators from Switzerland and the International Red Cross assisted in the negotiations.³⁶⁶

During the Chibok schoolgirls abduction, many foreign countries and the UN offered their help to Nigeria. Nigerian authorities also declared that they had asked for help. There was plenty of news repeating the statements of cooperation. According to the news the assistance to the Nigerian government was mainly

³⁵⁸ N93 (May 2, 2015).

³⁵⁹ N88 (April 14, 2015).

³⁶⁰ N107 (June 14, 2016), N111 (August 14, 2015).

³⁶¹ N113 (August 28, 2016).

³⁶² N116 (October 17, 2016).

³⁶³ N116 (October 17, 2016).

³⁶⁴ N119 (November 5, 2016).

³⁶⁵ N120 (May 6, 2017).

³⁶⁶ N120 (May 6, 2017).

technical. In May 2015, the U.S. sent seven FBI officers and an expert with the foreign ministry to Nigeria.³⁶⁷ The UK and France promised to send experts, China offered intelligence and satellite information,³⁶⁸ and also Israel joined to countries in offering its experts to help Nigeria.³⁶⁹ The U.S. further used spotter planes, UAVs (unmanned aerial vehicles) and satellite images in locating the missing girls.³⁷⁰ Nigeria also agreed on sharing satellite image and tightening border security with the neighbouring countries of Cameroon, Chad, Niger and Benin.³⁷¹ The U.S. later sent 80 marine soldiers to assist in the rescue efforts.³⁷²

In May 2015 an international meeting was held in Paris, France to discuss the fight against Boko Haram. Present in the meeting were Nigeria, Benin, Cameroon, Chad and Niger.³⁷³ After the meeting the Chadian president Idriss Deby gave a statement that the countries were ready to start an all-out war against Boko Haram. The Nigerian president Goodwill also hinted that Nigeria would turn to the UN Security Council in issues related to Boko Haram.³⁷⁴

Nigeria is a rotating member of the Security Council but has been reluctant to cooperate internationally to defeat Boko Haram. (N33)³⁷⁵

Boko Haram was added to the United Nations Security Council Consolidated List (also known as the al-Qaeda list) on May, 2014.³⁷⁶ The declaration was given after the UN Security Council had unanimously stated that group's abductions could be considered as " crimes against humanity" under international law. The declaration came after Boko Haram had already been carrying out its violent attacks already since 2009.³⁷⁷

The inefficiency of the Nigerian government and the international restraint have, so far, worked quite in the opposite way than what was apparently hoped. The United States did not add Boko Haram to its list of terrorist organizations in the past to prevent the organization from benefiting from international attention, the New York Times reports. (N25)³⁷⁸

³⁶⁷ N23 (May 10, 2014).

³⁶⁸ N23 (May 10, 2014).

³⁶⁹ N26 (May 11, 2014).

³⁷⁰ N28 (May 13, 2014).

³⁷¹ N33 (May 17, 2014).

³⁷² N38 (May 23, 2014).

³⁷³ N26 (May 11, 2014).

³⁷⁴ N33 (May 17, 2014).

³⁷⁵ N33 (May 17, 2014).

³⁷⁶ UNSC 2014.

³⁷⁷ N25 (May 11, 2014).

³⁷⁸ N25 (May 11, 2014).

In practice, the listing means that the organization is subject to an arms embargo and travel ban and that its funds are frozen. The listing was requested by Nigeria, which has not previously resorted to outside help in its fight against Boko Haram. (N38)³⁷⁹

In the news the Nigerian government was criticized for the missing leadership it showed in the efforts to find the schoolgirls. A local Nigerian interviewee deemed the criticism to be justified because the government had not shown any plans to lead the international efforts in rescuing the girls.

The international operation is also hampered by another problem: it can only succeed if Nigeria leads it. Ugochi does not believe that will happen.

"In Nigeria, there is no structure, nor a plan to save the girls. Our president expects the Americans to bomb Boko Haram away in Hollywood style." (N39)³⁸⁰

In January 2015 the leaders of West African countries announced to consider to assembling international troops to fight Boko Haram. However, financing and managing the operation had not been resolved.³⁸¹ The counterattacks against Boko Haram started in February.

Now Nigeria, Chad, Cameroon, Niger and Benin are launching a joint war operation against Boko Haram. The countries are assembling a special unit of 8,700 soldiers. (N83)³⁸²

The news noted the attacks, but only one of the articles showed criticism for the offer for assistance in the form of sending Western troops to fight Boko Haram:

The focus of military operations should shift to the protection of civilians, says ICG researcher Obasi. He says Nigeria needs foreign aid, but a Western military force in the Muslim-majority area "is not an option". (N84)³⁸³

In 2016 the news told about a weakened Boko Haram and the destruction of its bases. Also, internal power struggles had weakened the group.³⁸⁴

Soldiers from Nigeria, Cameroon, Niger and Chad launched a joint operation last year to defeat the jihadists, and since then Boko Haram's bases have been largely destroyed. The organization still terrorizes Nigeria and the border regions of its neighbours. (N111)³⁸⁵

³⁷⁹ N38 (May 23, 2014).

³⁸⁰ N39 (May 25, 2014).

³⁸¹ N80 (January 17, 2015).

³⁸² N83 (February 19, 2015).

³⁸³ N84 (February 25, 2015).

³⁸⁴ N113 (August 28, 2016).

³⁸⁵ N111 (August 14, 2016).

5.4 *Terrorism and violence*

The missing Chibok schoolgirls and how they were presented in the news, is the comprehensive theme of this study. However, the girls' case was mainly presented as a reference in the news reporting other attacks or proceedings with Boko Haram. The fate of the girls could be found as a frame in 78 of the 105 news (74%).

As such, the schoolgirls case is just one of the many attacks of Boko Haram. 35 of the news (33%) told about violence and terrorism in general, and 48 of the news (46%) framed other attacks the Boko Haram has made. Some of these other attacks might have been even more shocking than the Chibok schoolgirls' case.

5.4.1 The missing Chibok schoolgirls

The missing Chibok schoolgirls became a reference theme in the news about Nigeria and Boko Haram, but their fate remained unclear. In the news the case was referred to as the most well-known attack of Boko Haram. A description of the case was found in 78 of the news (74%).

Boko Haram has abducted women, children and young men several times across Nigeria. One of the most famous incidents happened last April when the terrorists abducted 276 schoolgirls. The majority of them have still not been found. (N78)³⁸⁶

Sunday's abduction was the largest since Boko Haram spread [its operations] from Nigeria to Cameroon last year. The best-known single abduction is that of 276 girls from a school in Chibok, Nigeria in April 2014. Boko Haram has killed thousands, in early January alone an estimated 2,000 people in the city of Bagan. (N81)³⁸⁷

When the abduction took place in April 2014 the total number of girls, aged 16 to 18 years, varied depending on the source, and later was later revised to be 276. Some of the schoolgirls were able to escape during the attack, or later during transportation, but the remaining girls were taken to the Sambisa forest.³⁸⁸

The case got international publicity just two weeks after it happened. One of the main factors was the #BringBackOurGirls hashtag campaign in social media, which grew into a global campaign with promoters like Hillary Clinton and Michelle Obama, and was referred to in other media as well, including HS news.³⁸⁹ The campaign with public personas as its promoters was also criticized and seen as not having an impact.

³⁸⁶ N78 (January 16, 2015).

³⁸⁷ N81 (January 19, 2015).

³⁸⁸ N5 (April 26, 2014).

³⁸⁹ N16 (May 6, 2014).

The mass abduction of girls has incited social media users to demand more vigorous rescue efforts from the authorities. The #BringBackOurGirls hashtag has spread from Twitter to the protester banners on the streets. (N16)³⁹⁰

Also, the way the campaign to liberate the girls spread in the West is disruptive. Celebrities like actress Anne Hathaway made statements in which Boko Haram and the Talebans appeared as one united group from whose grip we can save the girls. (N39)³⁹¹

The residents also tried to trace the girls. Very soon after the abduction the community got information that some of the girls were sold as wives to Chad and Cameroon with a price comparable to 10 euros.³⁹²

The abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls and the publicity the case received served as a means for Boko Haram to get international publicity as a cruel extremist group.³⁹³ The videos it published via AFP were cited in the HS news as well. In the videos of Boko Haram - the first of which was published two weeks after the abduction and the second one week later - Abubakar Shekau said that the girls had converted to Muslims and that Allah forces him to sell the girls.³⁹⁴

Abubakar Shekau, director of the extreme Islamic organization Boko Haram, vows to sell the girls abducted by the organization. Girls should not attend Western schools, declares the leader. The video of the terrorist leader also incites violence against Christians. The video caught by the news agency AFP was originally 57 minutes long. (N10)³⁹⁵

"We have liberated the girls. They have become Muslims," Shekau says. In the recording, Shekau chuckles in the middle of his speech and often repeats his words. (N29)³⁹⁶

On the other hand, the reporting about Boko Haram was said to be shadowed by other news about violence and terrorism in Syria and Iraq.³⁹⁷

A lot of the information about the fate of the Chibok schoolgirls rested on the reports of human rights organizations. These reports also included interviews of other girls and women who had survived or been able to escape Boko Haram. In the reports the victims told how they had been tortured, raped, or forced to marriages.³⁹⁸ Some were also forced to kill and act as suicide bombers. The witnesses of Boko Haram's attacks told the same.

³⁹⁰ N16 (May 6, 2014).

³⁹¹ N39 (May 25, 2014).

³⁹² N7 (April 30, 2014).

³⁹³ N15 (May 6, 2014).

³⁹⁴ N29 (May 13, 2014).

³⁹⁵ N10 (May 5, 2014).

³⁹⁶ N29 (May 13, 2014).

³⁹⁷ N61 (October 6, 2014).

³⁹⁸ N66 (October 27, 2014).

Some of the Nigerian girls abducted by the Islamist group Boko Haram have been forced to fight. According to an eyewitness, the girls slit the throats of Christian men, the BBC reports. (N96)³⁹⁹

Some of the girls now must terrorize other prisoners and even kill them. The BBC was unable to confirm the allegations, but according to the studies by the human rights organization Amnesty International, Islamists are training girls to fight. (N96)⁴⁰⁰

The Chibok schoolgirls became a symbol of the terror of Boko Haram, and continuous referring to their fate in the news may have led to ignorance of the other violent attacks and abductions in Nigeria. By 2016, an approximated 2,000 girls, women and children had been abducted.⁴⁰¹ Human rights organizations tried to raise awareness for the other human rights violations in their releases.

"Unfortunately, these still missing girls are only a small proportion of the abductees of Boko Haram in recent years," secretary-general of human rights organization Amnesty International Salid Shetty told The New York Times. (N88)⁴⁰²

In May 2016 a group of voluntary commandos found one of the Chibok schoolgirls, carrying a baby, in the Sambisa forest near the border of Cameroon. She was the first of the Chibok girls to be saved, but the news told how her identity needed to be confirmed by the Chibok parents' association and the Nigerian army.⁴⁰³

The next group of 21 Chibok schoolgirls was released in October 2016, after two and a half years of capture. The release succeeded after the negotiations, in which present were also the representatives of the International Red Cross and the Swizz government.⁴⁰⁴ This release also raised hope to find the rest of the more than 200 missing girls.⁴⁰⁵

The fifth of the editorials in HS,⁴⁰⁶ two years after the abduction, again concentrated on the Chibok schoolgirls. The editorial discussed the contradictions of raising a "little princess" in a privileged Western country versus the abducted, missing Chibok girls, who may have become brainwashed, raped and or forced to become suicide bombers, or those who have been able to escape, may have become pariahs, abandoned by their families as a shame to their prior community.

³⁹⁹ N96 (June 29, 2015).

⁴⁰⁰ N96 (June 29, 2015).

⁴⁰¹ N114 (June 3, 2016).

⁴⁰² N88 (April 14, 2015).

⁴⁰³ N109 (May 18, 2016); N110 (May 20, 2016).

⁴⁰⁴ N115 (October 13, 2016).

⁴⁰⁵ N116 (October 17, 2016).

⁴⁰⁶ N108, (April 19, 2016).

The editorial ended up discussing free mobility, human rights, and education, especially from the perspective of the girls.

In November 2016, another Chibok girl with a baby was found.⁴⁰⁷ The next good news about liberation was published in May 2017, three years after the abduction. An anonymous Nigerian source, representing the government, informed that a weakened Boko Haram had released a total of 82 Chibok girls by exchanging them for Boko Haram insurgents.⁴⁰⁸ However, still more than 100 girls remained captured or missing. Some of the girls had also died, and some were not willing to return.⁴⁰⁹

Some of the girls, who were abducted four years ago, have been released, the fate of some remains unknown, and some do not want to return home because they have been radicalized among the jihadists or are too ashamed of the events. Girls have also been forced to marry jihadists and have children with them. (N121)⁴¹⁰

There were some topics missing from the HS news, like the recovery and further settlement to the normal life of the released Boko Haram abductees. This theme has been widely present in Nigerian and international media after the release of the 82 Chibok girls in May 2017. In HS the recovery process was present only in one news in the radio and tv section, referring to a forthcoming television documentary about the released Chibok girls. The description of the documentary in HS comments that staying in the safe house was reminiscent of a prison, and the documentary looked like a well-orchestrated play, aimed at gaining good publicity.⁴¹¹

Freedom, however, is reminiscent of a prison. The women have settled in a government safe house surrounded by a wall and protected by armed guards. The film crew has been banned from asking what happened to the women in captivity. (N125)⁴¹²

In the document the filming group was told that none of the girls did become infected with HIV or was pregnant at the time of the release. (N125)⁴¹³

Although HS in its news did not elaborate the recovery of the Chibok schoolgirls, the television documentary itself was an interesting depiction of their

⁴⁰⁷ N119 (November 5, 2016).

⁴⁰⁸ N120 (May 6, 2017).

⁴⁰⁹ N120 (May 6, 2017); N121 (February 21, 2018).

⁴¹⁰ N121 (February 21, 2018).

⁴¹¹ Stolen Daughters 2018.

⁴¹² N125 (October 26, 2018). In the documentary Stolen Daughters (2018) the Minister of Women's Affairs advises both the girls as well as the filming group not to speak about what happened in the Sambisa forest.

⁴¹³ N 125 (October 26, 2018).

recovery process. The documentary “Stolen Daughters” tells about how the released Chibok schoolgirls, like some of the earlier released Boko Haram captured girls, are settled in a government’s rehabilitation centre, “safe house”, surrounded by walls and secured with armed guards, and located in Abuja, 900 kilometres from their homes in Chibok.

The authorities also controlled access to the girls; according to the Nigerian government representatives the girls were kept in secure conditions to ensure their rehabilitation. Also the parents had a limited access to the girls.⁴¹⁴ When the girls visited their homes in Chibok, they were not allowed to stay in their families’ homes due to the said risk of being kidnapped again.⁴¹⁵

In the Nigerian media there has been discussion whether keeping the girls in the government’s safe house, was about the government’s care, or just keeping them again in custody again.⁴¹⁶ The girls were taken to the safe house for psycho-social therapy and for refocusing them back to education, “giving the girls the education that was stolen from them.”⁴¹⁷

For the next four months, the women’s affairs ministry will be home to the 82 girls, and a team of psychologists will help to heal the mental wounds they have suffered in the past three years of captivity. They will then be sent to schools across Nigeria, although none will return to Chibok.⁴¹⁸

“We believe the girls by September will be fully recovered psychologically, next school year we enrol them.”⁴¹⁹

The escaped and rescued Chibok girls were offered a government-paid studentship in the American University of Nigeria (AUN) at the campus of Yola, Northeastern Nigeria. The university is known for being an elite university that attracts the children of government ministers and ambassadors. However, since the girls came from a “poor-quality” government school and hardly spoke English, they needed preparation for the studies. The 57 girls who were able to escape Boko Haram in April 2014 and who were willing to continue their studies, were first offered a special tailor-made preparatory program in the New Foundation School (NFS) to prepare them for the university studies. The 82 girls

⁴¹⁴ Deutsche Welle 2017.

⁴¹⁵ BBC 2017.

⁴¹⁶ BBC 2017.

⁴¹⁷ An expression former Nigeria’s Federal Minister of Women Affairs and Social Development, Aisha Alhassan used in one of the videos describing the conditions of the rescued Chibok schoolgirls in the government’s rehabilitation center in Abuja. Also see BBC 2017.

⁴¹⁸ CGTN 2017.

⁴¹⁹ See footnote 417.

rescued later were also offered the same opportunity of studying at AUN. Some of the girls have since continued their studies abroad in the U.S. and Italy.⁴²⁰

In the recovery of the Chibok schoolgirls education has been seen as the key topic with regard to freedom, and the future. Margret, one of the released girls in the government's safe house sums it up in the "Stolen Daughters" documentary:

"Freedom means when you have the right to do whatever you want at any time."⁴²¹

5.4.2 Terrorism, violence

The terrorism of Boko Haram was present as a frame in 35 of the news (33%) in the data of this study. The news mainly described the terrorism in Nigeria in general, and the state-of-war in Northeastern Nigeria. One of the news also described the situation of sexual violence in Africa, saying that it is customary in the conflicts in African countries like the Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, and Mali.⁴²²

When talking about terrorism in Nigeria it is easy to refer to Boko Haram and its profile as an extreme terrorist group. However, it seems that more civilians have been killed in the fight against terrorism than in the attacks made by Boko Haram. In the HS news the role of the Nigerian government in the atrocities was recognized, but not widely discussed. The government's role in violence was visible for example in a description of a documentary called "Hunting Boko Haram/ Nigeria's hidden war", also known as Nigeria's Dirty War.⁴²³

The hell into what Northern Nigeria has drifted is summed up in a local woman's statement: "Boko Haram performs the bloodshed, and then the army takes our man." Often men disappear into cadres.

The method used by the group involves gathering of young men in each village, beating and other torture, and ultimately killing or handing them over to the army for ill-treatment. It is estimated that thousands of innocent lives have been lost.

Sometimes the beatings are commented on by anonymous parties, sometimes by a human rights expert who states - needlessly - that in this case, there is torture, which is a war crime and here a civilian is killed, which is also a war crime. Recorded killings are at least not displayed. (N60)⁴²⁴

Measured by the number of victims and attacks, Nigeria, together with Syria and Iraq, is among the countries with the most attacks of Islamic terrorism.

⁴²⁰ National Geography 2020.

⁴²¹ Stolen Daughters 2018.

⁴²² N45 (June 10, 2014).

⁴²³ Hunting Boko Haram 2018.

⁴²⁴ N60 (October 2, 2014).

However, terrorism in Nigeria has not reached the same international attention as in terrorism related to Iraq and Syria.⁴²⁵ This may partly be due to the networks of al-Qaeda which have formed a threat for the Western countries as well. The threat was realized in France in the Charlie Hebdo attack in January 2015.

Islamist terrorism remains a predominant problem in Islamic countries and territories. The Intel Center, which quantifies terrorism, tells in its statistics for the past 30 days that the worst was in Nigeria, Iraq, and Syria - more than half of the world's terrorist activity. Every base for violent organizations is also a threat in the Western countries. Yemen is a shaky state. According to unconfirmed allegations by al-Qaeda in Yemen, it trained the men who went with guns in their hands to the Charlie Hebdo office. (N79)⁴²⁶

At the same time of the Charlie Hebdo attack in France, Boko Haram accomplished the bloodiest act of its history in Baga. While world leaders, including the former Nigerian president Jonathan Goodluck, were marching for peace in Paris, Boko Haram killed more than 2,000 civilians in an attack on a remote village Baga in Northeastern Nigeria.⁴²⁷ In addition to the state leaders in Nigeria, also the Nigerian – and also largely African – media were first silent about the case. The first ones to report the atrocities were large international news agencies like the BBC and Al-Jazeera.⁴²⁸

Many of the news told about the causes of Boko Haram terrorism. According to UNICEF, 1.3 million children in Nigeria, Cameroon, Chad, and Niger had been forced to flee and about 2,000 schools had been closed due to the threat of Boko Harams atrocities. Missing school and education makes the children an easy and vulnerable target to Boko Haram to be abused, abducted, or used as child fighters or suicide bombers.⁴²⁹ According to the report by UNICEF, a total of 44 children were used in suicide bombings only in 2015 alone.⁴³⁰

“Cheating and forcing children into perpetrators of deadly attacks is one of the most horrific features of the violence in Nigeria and its neighbouring countries,” UNICEF Regional Director Manuel Fontaine said in a statement. (104)⁴³¹

Boko Haram has abducted a total of thousands of girls and women since the beginning of its large-scale violence in 2009, killing some 20,000 people and resulting in the fleeing of more than 2.6 million. (N122)⁴³²

⁴²⁵ N61 (October 6, 2014).

⁴²⁶ N79 (January 17, 2015).

⁴²⁷ N80 (January 17, 2015).

⁴²⁸ N79 (January 17, 2015).

⁴²⁹ N100 (December 22, 2015).

⁴³⁰ N104 (April 12, 2016).

⁴³¹ N104 (April 12, 2016).

⁴³² N122 (February 26, 2018).

5.4.3 Other attacks

Although the most well-known case, the Chibok schoolgirls' abduction is just one of the many violent attacks of Boko Haram that the news told about. The attacks of the group mainly cause civilian casualties. As an example, just before the attack to Chibok in April 2014, Boko Haram had attacked another school in the same area. The group also was suspected of being responsible for a bomb attack at a bus station, killing more than 70 people in the capital Abuja in April 2014.⁴³³

The attacks and kidnappings in the northeastern part of the country continued after the invasion to the Chibok school. In the beginning of May 2014, Boko Haram abducted eight more girls, aged 12 to 15 years, in a night-time attack in the Warabe village in the northeastern part of the country. A local villager and an anonymous police source told that, together with stolen cattle and food supplies, they girls had been taken by trucks from the village.⁴³⁴

In mid-May armed men destroyed two empty schools in Shardak and Darazo, both near the Chibok village. The Nigerian police did not confirm whether the attack was made by Boko Haram.⁴³⁵ In Chinkongudo local police reported fighters who came in motorcycles and cars to have killed 29 farmers, burned the houses, and stolen the food of the residents. In the capital Abuja 118 people were killed in two disastrous bomb attacks.⁴³⁶

In June, according to a police source, more than 42 people were killed in an attack to the Bardar village. Just two days earlier attackers had killed tens of people in three villages in Borno.⁴³⁷ A later news article told about an execution of more than 200 civilians.⁴³⁸ On June 9, 2014 in the Garkin Fulan village Boko Haram kidnapped 20 women and three young men who tried to prevent the abduction. The news about the abduction came at the same time when people in Maiduguri were burying more than 100 people who had been killed by Boko Haram. The people who had fled Boko Haram also told that there were more corpses in the nearby bushes and hills. Funerals were held in nine villages.⁴³⁹

Just two weeks later Boko Haram surrounded the village of Kummabza, burned the houses, kidnapped more than 60 girls, and killed 30 people. In Kano

⁴³³ N1 (April 15, 2014).

⁴³⁴ N13 (May 6, 2014).

⁴³⁵ N32 (May 16, 2014).

⁴³⁶ N38 (May 23, 2014).

⁴³⁷ N43 (June 6, 2014).

⁴³⁸ N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴³⁹ N44 (June 10, 2014).

city a bomb in a health care school killed eight people and wounded more than 20. In the previous week a bomb had killed 20 people who were watching the soccer World Cup.⁴⁴⁰

In mid-July 38 civilians were killed and the whole village was burned in an attack. The attackers drove motorcycles and threw explosives into the houses. Some of the villagers who tried to escape, got killed by the firing of army planes.⁴⁴¹ At the end of the month a female suicide bomber blew herself up in a university in Kano causing the death of six people. It was just one of the many suicide bomb attacks to schools and gas stations during the same days.⁴⁴² The attacks were suspected to have been done by Boko Haram.

In October 2014 the Nigerian army told about a ceasefire with Boko Haram. Soon after the announcement the attackers, who were suspected to be Boko Haram, invaded two villages and killed many civilians according to security sources and eyewitnesses.⁴⁴³ At the end of the month the news told about the abduction of 30 children and younglings. Again, Boko Haram was suspected of the attack.⁴⁴⁴ The total number of abducted women and girls rose to 500 during the five year period 2000 – 2014.⁴⁴⁵

At the end of October 2014, a bomb killed eight civilians in the city of Gombe.⁴⁴⁶ Later in November an explosion in a school in the state of Yobe killed 48 people and left 79 wounded. The suicide bomber was said to have worn a school uniform.⁴⁴⁷

The next mass abduction took place some days before Christmas 2014 in Gumsur, but information about the event was published with a couple of days' delay due to destroyed infrastructure and collapsed phone lines. In the attack Boko Haram kidnapped a total of 191 women, girls and boys, and killed 32 people. The attack was reported by people who escaped the village.⁴⁴⁸

In January 2015 Boko Haram kidnapped 40 men and boys in Borno state. They also attacked Baga, a city of 10,000 inhabitants, which was said to be the last city under the government's rule in the area. Before the abduction of the

⁴⁴⁰ N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁴¹ N53 (July 15, 2014).

⁴⁴² N54 (July 31, 2014).

⁴⁴³ N62 (October 18, 2014).

⁴⁴⁴ N65 (October 26, 2014).

⁴⁴⁵ N68 (October 28, 2014).

⁴⁴⁶ N69 (November 1, 2014).

⁴⁴⁷ N70 (November 10, 2014).

⁴⁴⁸ N72 (December 18, 2014).

Chibok schoolgirls Boko Haram had been attacking the city and had killed about 200 people there.⁴⁴⁹

The year 2015 had a cruel start in Northeastern Nigeria. According to local authorities Boko Haram had destroyed more than ten villages and the residents had escaped to the Lake Chad islands. The news first told about the killing of a hundred people in Baga.⁴⁵⁰ The authorities later clarified the number to be almost 2,000 in a week. The massacre in Baga was said to be horrible.⁴⁵¹

Accurate information about events in the remote town of Baga near the Chad border has not been confirmed. If the first news turns out to be true, it will be the worst massacre in Boko Haram's history, human rights organization Amnesty International said on Friday. (N77)⁴⁵²

January 2015 continued with two suicide bomb attacks, both of which were made by approximately 10 year old girls.⁴⁵³ News about the Baga attack also became more detailed. Estimated deaths were said to be 2,000, more or less. Satellite images revealed the destruction in the area and Amnesty International said an estimated 3,700 buildings to have been destroyed. The Baga attack took place at the same time with the attack on Charlie Hebdo in Paris, France, which was discussed earlier.⁴⁵⁴

Later in January Boko Haram fighters entered villages in Cameroon and kidnapped 80 people: adults who were mostly herdmen, and about 50 boys and girls the age 10–15.⁴⁵⁵ Three bomb attacks killed 58 and wounded about 140 civilians in Maiduguri in March 2015.⁴⁵⁶

At the end of April the Nigerian government announced to have released about 200 girls and 93 women from Boko Haram, but the Chibok schoolgirls were not among the released.⁴⁵⁷ Some days later the government announced to have released 234 girls and women more.⁴⁵⁸ According to the report of Amnesty international Boko Haram had kidnapped more than 2,000 women and children

⁴⁴⁹ N75 (January 4, 2015).

⁴⁵⁰ N75 (January 4, 2015); N76 (January 9, 2015).

⁴⁵¹ N77 (January 10, 2015).

⁴⁵² N77 (January 10, 2015).

⁴⁵³ N78 (January 16, 2015).

⁴⁵⁴ N79 (January 17, 2015).

⁴⁵⁵ N81 (January 19, 2015).

⁴⁵⁶ N85 (March 7, 2015).

⁴⁵⁷ N91 (April 28, 2015).

⁴⁵⁸ N93 (April 28, 2015).

during the previous one and a half years. The report stated that most of them had been forced to be sex slaves and fighters.⁴⁵⁹

The next news about the attacks came in November 2015. In Diffa 13 people were killed in an attack by Boko Haram.⁴⁶⁰ Two girl suicide bombers killed 15 and wounded more than 100 people in the city of Kano.⁴⁶¹

The news about attacks and abductions continued in March 2016. In Maiduguri more than 20 people were killed in a mosque.⁴⁶² But the big news was the report of Human Rights Watch report revealing that as early as on November 24, 2014, Boko Haram had kidnapped a total of 400 women and children in the village of Damasaki. According to the village elders, in this attack more than 200 residents were killed, and many died when trying to escape Boko Haram. Boko Haram also made the captured men bury the corpses into mass graves. According to a local government spokesman, the parents of the abducted children were afraid to tell about the attack. However, some of the escaped tried to inform the representatives in the Nigerian parliament about the case, but they were ignored.⁴⁶³

In February 2018 Boko Haram attacked a school in Dapchi. In the attack 111 schoolgirls were captured and went missing. It took, again, several days for the Nigerian government to admit that the girls were missing. These girls remained captured for five weeks before the army was able to release them. Five of the girls were reported to have gotten killed and one Christian girl, who did not want to convert to Islam, remained missing.⁴⁶⁴

5.5 Community and compassion

The case of the Chibok schoolgirls has raised a lot of compassion, not only in the Nigerian community but also internationally. The frame of community reaction was present in 33 of the news (31%). A total of 16 of the news articles (15%) dealt with the perspective of those who escaped or were released from Boko Haram. These people, together with the victims, also reported about the events during the capture or surviving Boko Haram. The victim's perspective was framed in 18 of the news (17%).

⁴⁵⁹ N94 (May 3, 2015).

⁴⁶⁰ N98 (November 7, 2015).

⁴⁶¹ N99 (November 19, 2015).

⁴⁶² N101 (March 27, 2016).

⁴⁶³ N102 (March 31, 2016).

⁴⁶⁴ N112 (February 26, 2018); N123 (March 21, 2018).

In this frame theme group the community and compassion frames are divided into three subcategories; Community reaction, Escape or release and Victim's perspective.

5.5.1 Community reaction

There are many elements of collective compassion in the news about the Chibok schoolgirls. In 33 of the news (31%), the families of the victims, the residents in the cities affected by Boko Haram's attacks and the representatives of their communities showed courage and initiative after the attacks. In a wider context the whole community could be identified as victims of terror.⁴⁶⁵

When the authorities were not reacting, the relatives joined their forces and their scant resources together to search for the girls.⁴⁶⁶ The residents were active also in the rescue efforts of the other abductions and in trying to prevent Boko Haram attacks. The families and relatives also had a role in identifying the girls from the videos that Boko Haram published⁴⁶⁷ and later when the girls were released. Parents also recognized those who claimed to be from Chibok but were not.⁴⁶⁸

The news criticized using local security forces with insufficient armament in the fight against Boko Haram.

Islamist rebels are opposed by local voluntary security forces, which, however, have limited resources. They have hunting rifles, assembled from car parts and pieces of wood at their disposal, while the opposing Boko Haram has RPGs (rocket-propelled grenades) and heavy machine guns. (N44)⁴⁶⁹

The military has been accused of outsourcing front-line fighting to volunteer villagers and hunters. Volunteers have little training and their weapons are miserable. (N72)⁴⁷⁰

The abduction touched almost everyone in Chibok; if the abducted was not one's daughter, she was that of a neighbour or a relative.⁴⁷¹ The news also reflected the variety of feelings the relatives had to go through, from the parents' description of the desires the girls had in their studies and for their future, to the anguish and fear of their fate.

⁴⁶⁵ Costin 2006, 234.

⁴⁶⁶ N6 (April 26, 2014).

⁴⁶⁷ N30 (May 13, 2014).

⁴⁶⁸ N101 (March 27, 2016).

⁴⁶⁹ N44 (June 10, 2014).

⁴⁷⁰ N72 (December 18, 2014).

⁴⁷¹ N8 (May 3, 2014).

Another father, Pagu Haruna, told his abducted daughter Awan has been a hard-working student. "We don't know what's going on with our kids in the woods, among strange men," he said. (N8)⁴⁷²

In addition to the local rallies in Nigeria the social media campaign #BringBackOurGirls also reflected the reactions of compassion and the strive to push the authorities into action to save the girls.⁴⁷³ The #BringBackOurGirls campaign first started in Abuja, Nigeria but got wide international attention after the former U.S. First Ladies Hillary Clinton and Michelle Obama and many celebrities and public personas like Malala Yousafza tweeted about it. The hashtag was retweeted in a short time more than three million times.⁴⁷⁴ It also was targeted towards the Nigerian government as a critique of the inactivity of the authorities. The campaign #BringBackOurGirls was referred to in seven of the news.

There have been almost daily demonstrations in Nigeria on behalf of the abducted girls. At the same time, criticism has been targeted at the country's government, which has failed to protect girls or protect civilians in the country's Northeast. (N42)⁴⁷⁵

The government representatives also reacted to the campaigns in public.

"For the Chibok schoolgirls, pointing a finger is of no help," said Brigade General Ibrahim Sabo, who introduced the report on Chibok's abductions. "Getting the girls out of safely is much more important than the publicity created by the accusation, which tends to cover up the matter itself." (N46)⁴⁷⁶

The social media activity also raised discussion and critique about the impact of liking and sharing a tweet. Retweeting was criticized to be "slacktivism", with no impact on reality.⁴⁷⁷ In the news the "experts" also noted that an Internet campaign does not have any impact on the abducted girls, nor on Boko Haram.⁴⁷⁸

While waiting for the results, the campaign will undeniably increase awareness of what happened. According to the critics, it is still mainly a matter of people easing their conscience without making an actual effort. (N21)⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷² N8 (May 3, 2014).

⁴⁷³ N11 (May 5, 2014).

⁴⁷⁴ N39 (May 25, 2014); N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁷⁵ N42 (June 3, 2014).

⁴⁷⁶ N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁷⁷ N21 (May 9, 2014).

⁴⁷⁸ N25 (May 11, 2014).

⁴⁷⁹ N21 (May 9, 2014).

Michelle Obama made a speech about the Chibok schoolgirls saying that she and the President of the U.S. were “outraged and heartbroken” over the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls. She said Nigerian girls reminded the couple of their daughters.⁴⁸⁰

Also, the official international response in the form of offering help, cited in the news, reflected compassion.

The incident shocked even the Nigerians, who are accustomed to the violence of Boko Haram, and provoked a huge international reaction. The United States, among others, has promised help to free the girls. (N46)⁴⁸¹

The insurgency of Boko Haram and the violent attacks also caused the closing of schools in Northern Nigeria. For example, in Diffa where Boko Haram had attacked various times, the schools were closed and 47,000 of the 500,000 inhabitants of the city were forced to leave their houses.⁴⁸²

Schools in the Diffa area, with a total of 12,631 pupils, have had to close their doors “because of the insecurity that has led to the shortage of teachers and panic in the population”. (N98)⁴⁸³

The community reaction was not just supportive or positive. According to UNICEF, in some cases Boko Haram’s use of children as suicide bombers had led to a fear of children, and consequently to suspicion and even to the discrimination of the ones that have been released from Boko Haram’s capture.⁴⁸⁴ The same applied to the survived former suicide bombers. Both are victims of Boko Haram.

Instead of discrimination, children would need support and care, as many of them have been raped as prisoners of Boko Haram. (N104)⁴⁸⁵

“These girls and women are just victims, and society needs to treat them accordingly. They have already experienced serious violence at the hands of Boko Haram. We need to make sure that they do not experience more violence in the hands of their compatriots,” says Aisha Muhammed Oyebo, according to AFP. (N103)⁴⁸⁶

The life of former Boko Haram victims in their communities could have become difficult. The released women may have faced the same marginalization, as do their children, said the report of UNICEF.

⁴⁸⁰ N23 (May 10, 2014).

⁴⁸¹ N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁸² N98 (November 7, 2015).

⁴⁸³ N98 (November 7, 2015).

⁴⁸⁴ N104 (April 12, 2016).

⁴⁸⁵ N104 (April 12, 2016).

⁴⁸⁶ N103 (March 31, 2016).

They are rejected by families and communities “because of the social and cultural norms associated with sexual violence,” the UNICEF report states.

Many believe that the blood legacy of Boko Haram's terrorists also lives in the offspring of the children of women who have become pregnant after having been raped. (N106)⁴⁸⁷

The lives of the girls, who have escaped the claws of Boko Haram, are not easy either, as they often become outcasts even in their own families. They are not victims to be cared about, but a shame. The same thing happens to child soldiers, boys forced into guerrilla forces. (N108)⁴⁸⁸

According to the Guardian, more than one-third of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls did not want to return home due to radicalization, forced marriages and sense of shame.⁴⁸⁹

5.5.2 Escape or release

The news about abductions and attacks were also stories of survival and escape. When the Chibok school attack took place, according to the authorities 14 girls were able to escape at once.⁴⁹⁰ Army representatives later revised the number of escaped Chibok schoolgirls to be 57.⁴⁹¹

In Kummabza village Boko Haram kidnapped more than 90 people in mid-June, 2014.⁴⁹² Of these, 60 women and girls were able to escape. The Nigerian army was reported to have killed 53 Boko Haram fighters in the attack.⁴⁹³

For many, escaping Boko Haram's attacks also meant fleeing from the home village. In February 2015 UNCHR estimated the number of refugees in the remote areas of Northern Nigeria to be more than a million people.

More than a million people are estimated to have fled Northeastern Nigeria. Of these, at least 170,000 people have fled to neighbouring countries, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR). (N84)⁴⁹⁴

The Nigerian army announced the liberation of “about 200 women and 93 girls” in April 2015. The Chibok schoolgirls were not among the liberated.⁴⁹⁵ A week later the army announced liberation of 234 women and children.⁴⁹⁶

⁴⁸⁷ N106 (April 14, 2016).

⁴⁸⁸ N108 (April 19, 2016).

⁴⁸⁹ N118 (October 19, 2016).

⁴⁹⁰ N3 (April 19, 2014).

⁴⁹¹ N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁹² N46 (June 24, 2014).

⁴⁹³ N50 (July 7, 2014).

⁴⁹⁴ N84 (February 25, 2015).

⁴⁹⁵ N91 (April 28, 2015).

⁴⁹⁶ N93 (May 2, 2015).

The army has said it has already released about 500 women and children from the vast forest of Sambisa in a few days. (N93)⁴⁹⁷

The army brought the first 275 women and children to the city of Yola in the eastern part of the country. They had been transported out of the Boko Haram base area in the Sambisa forest by army flatbed trucks. The journey in the difficult terrain had taken three days. (N94)⁴⁹⁸

A group of voluntary activist forces found the first of the missing Chibok schoolgirls, Amina Ali Nkeki, in the Sambisa forest, near the border of Cameroon in May 2015. Some days later another girl, named Serah Luka, was found, but her identity caused a debate. The representatives of the parents' association in Chibok questioned her identity, but the army source insisted she was one of the Chibok schoolgirls. (N110)⁴⁹⁹

In October 2016 Boko Haram released 21 Chibok schoolgirls after negotiations that were conducted with the representatives of International Red Cross and the Swiss government.⁵⁰⁰ The regathering was described to be full of tears, singing, dancing, and the joy of reunion.

"I never imagined seeing my parents again. God has helped me and that is why I want to give thanks. May God comfort us all," one of the released girls, Rebecca Mallam, told Reuters. (N116)⁵⁰¹

One of Chibok girls was found with a 10 months old baby in November 2016 near the border of Cameroon.⁵⁰² Three years after the Chibok abductions, in May 2017, the news told about the liberation of tens of abducted girls. The girls were exchanged with Boko Haram prisoners.⁵⁰³

The Dapchi school attack in February 2018 recalled the abduction in Chibok. It also challenged the Nigerian army's claims of a collapsing Boko Haram. In Dapchi 111 schoolgirls were abducted. Later, 105 of them were released and able to return to their homes. Five of the girls had been killed in the attack and one, refusing to convert to Islam, was kept in the capture.⁵⁰⁴

⁴⁹⁷ N93 (May 2, 2015).

⁴⁹⁸ N94 (May 3, 2015).

⁴⁹⁹ N110 (May 20, 2016).

⁵⁰⁰ N115 (October 13, 2016).

⁵⁰¹ N116 (October 17, 2016).

⁵⁰² N119 (November 5, 2016).

⁵⁰³ N120 (May 6, 2017).

⁵⁰⁴ N123 (March 21, 2018).

5.5.3 Victim's perspective

When the Boko Haram soldiers attacked the Chibok school, the girls who survived later described how they had trusted the soldiers to be army representatives or with the police.⁵⁰⁵ The news later revealed that the authorities were aware of the attack before it happened, but did not prevent it.⁵⁰⁶

Ugochi thinks Boko Haram isn't the only one who considers girls worthless. When the first news of the abduction came, no one did anything. "Can this be real?" the Nigerians asked each other according to Ugochi. "I think the government was indifferent also because they were girls. A lot of people think it's natural to treat girls badly." (N39)⁵⁰⁷

The perspective of the abducted and escaped girls has been present in the reports of the human rights organizations' reports. These organizations also have required for the government's responsibility in the protection and rehabilitation of the girls.

Human Rights Watch points out that the Nigerian government should also better protect and rehabilitate the released girls and track down the perpetrators. (N66)⁵⁰⁸

According to the report cited in the HS news, the girls had been through mental and physical violence, raping and forced labour. They had also been tortured, forced into marriages and forced to participate in the attacks or suicide bombings. The report said that the government had not interviewed the girls although they could have had valuable information about the activities of the inner circle of Boko Haram.⁵⁰⁹

According to the report, some of the girls were also forced to take part in the attacks and to carry terrorist weapons in the battles. Some girls were used as bait to lure Christian men directly to death. (N68)⁵¹⁰

The experiences the victims and eyewitnesses had to go through in the attacks could be described to be horrible. One of the survivors of Boko Haram's suicide bomb attack in a school in Yobe state, in November 2014, described his reaction:

"When I realized what had happened, I pushed the corpse off over me and started running like everyone else. Flesh and blood of people had been spilled everywhere.

⁵⁰⁵ N2 (April 17, 2014); N39 (May 25, 2014).

⁵⁰⁶ N39 (May 25, 2014).

⁵⁰⁷ N39 (May 25, 2014).

⁵⁰⁸ N66 (October 27, 2014).

⁵⁰⁹ N68 (October 28, 2014).

⁵¹⁰ N68 (October 28, 2014).

When my dad saw me, he was shocked. I hadn't noticed that my white school uniform was covered in blood," Adamu Abdullahi told the news agency AFP. (N71)⁵¹¹

During the Boko Haram slaughter in Baga, January 2015, about 2,000 people were killed. When the security forces arrived, they could not manage to count the huge number of the corpses.

He said the fighters had to give up the attempt to count the bodies because there were so many of them. Most of the victims had apparently been children, women and elderly who were unable to run fast enough, a local government spokesman said according to the release of the Nigerian government. (N77)⁵¹²

The victims and eyewitnesses told about extreme violence, sexual abduction and forcing to do acts unwillingly. The stories also described how the attacks could not be predicted, nor prevented. One of the news told about Aisha, who was abducted in the middle of a wedding. Boko Haram fighters arrived at the wedding, killed the men and abducted the women, including the bride.

"Aisha" was imprisoned for three months before she managed to escape. During this time, she was raped several times, sometimes as many as six fighters raped her together. She was taught to use weapons and was sent, among other things, to attack his own village.

According to Aisha, she did not kill anyone but knew women who had committed killings. She herself saw Boko Haram kill more than 50 people, including her sister. (N88)⁵¹³

Refusing to convert to Boko Haram's interpretation of Islam or a forced marriage led to killings and experiencing and witnessing insane violence. Many of the victims were said to be severely traumatized and in the need of immediate crisis interventions. In addition to the violence, the women also suffered from insufficient hygiene. In the relocation camps the victims got food, shelter and tools for personal hygiene.⁵¹⁴

The stories of the released former Boko Haram victims also reveal signs of hope, of being alive. In the document describing the recovery of the Chibok schoolgirls in the government safe house in Abuja the girls support each other.

"Be thankful to God who kept you alive." Nigerian women who have been rescued from the Islamist terrorist group Boko Haram are advised to be grateful. They also advise each other in this way, despite having seen and experienced brutal violence. (N125)⁵¹⁵

⁵¹¹ N71 (November 11, 2014).

⁵¹² N77 (January 10, 2015).

⁵¹³ N88 (April 14, 2015).

⁵¹⁴ N94 (May 3, 2015).

⁵¹⁵ N125 (October 26, 2018).

6 Conclusions

The objective of this thesis was to study from the *frame-building perspective* how the Finnish newspaper Helsingin Sanomat (HS) framed the case of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls in Nigeria, and what kind of *sourcing and quoting patterns* were found in the news during the period from April 2014 to December 2018. The data of this study is based on 105 news articles that HS published about the case or had a reference to. This chapter concentrates on the reflection of the findings of the data analysis.

The case of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls became a story that gained international publicity, the development of which was also followed in HS. The case reflects reporting religion-related terrorism and its connectedness to a wartime situation, abductions and gender-based sexual violence towards women and under-aged girls. Most of the news about other Boko Haram attacks also included a reference to the Chibok schoolgirls case. In this sense, the continuing referencing to the case also redirected attention from later Boko Haram abductions and violent attacks, many with many more victims. The case is still active: more than 100 of the abducted Chibok schoolgirls remain captured or missing.

The case also possesses many elements that fulfil the criteria of newsworthiness especially in reporting conflicts: it is deeply negative and has wide consequences like turning children to suicide bombers, destroying infrastructure, bombing schools and mosques, or forced religious conversions and marriages, and using sexual violence towards children. It also includes public persons, unexpected turns, and the perspective of internal and international politics and publicity.

The study reveals that in reporting the Chibok schoolgirls' case HS favoured material from the Western news agencies as sources in most of the news (75% of the news). The most referred individual news agencies were AFP (49%) and Reuters (38%). Media with international audiences was mentioned as a source type in 28% of the news. The third most used source type (15% of the news) was the human rights organizations which also are reporting about human rights violations from the victims' perspective. Despite Nigeria's lively and wide media space, also mainly accessible online, local Nigerian media was referred to as a source only in five percent of the news (5%). Nigerian media with direct access to local sources would have offered a wider perspective to understanding the cultural

and ethno-religious as well as political circumstances in the country. On the other hand, using news agency or other media materials in conflict reporting may mean taking distance or ignoring some difficult ethical challenges or considerations the journalists would have to meet in content selection.

In this study, the categorization of the quote source types revealed that Nigerian authorities dominated in the citations in the news. They were cited in 66% of the news. The perception of the high proportion of authorities' citations in HS news mirrors the earlier studies which have found out that the official sources have their impact in shaping what becomes news, and newspapers prefer official sources in global conflict reporting. Official sources are also easier to find than conflicting voices and they are more easily recognized as legitimate commentators of facts. The second most quoted group were the representatives of human rights organizations in 32% of the news. The direct victims of Boko Haram's violence were cited in 18% of the news, however, only one of these cited a released Chibok schoolgirl.

The third phase of this study took a look at how the case of the Chibok schoolgirls was framed in the HS news. From the news data a total of 12 frame theme categories were recognized and these categories were further organized into four main theme groups: 1) Understanding the circumstances, 2) Government inactivity and politics, 3) Terrorism and violence, and 4) Community and compassion.

In the frame theme group of "*Understanding the circumstances*" a description of Boko Haram and its objectives was recognized in 55% of the news. The news mainly stated repetitively and consistently the description of the group and its objective. A depiction of Nigeria in general was included in 13% of the news, and it mainly concentrated on the dichotomies of economy and religion: the poor and rural North versus the richer and more developed South, and the mainly Muslim North versus the Christian South. Only a little attention was paid on the colonial history under the British rule and its consequences to the development of the country.

The unstable situation in the country has developed from a complex web of socio-cultural, economic, ethno-religious, and regional elements. The religious leaders of Nigeria have a visible role in politics, and politics and religion are intertwined in the country. Describing this complex relation, its historical background and its impact on daily politics in more detail would have given a

wider perspective to understanding the causes and consequences of the conflict in the country. In the HS news the religious and ethnic diversity of the country was recognized as a frame in 9% of the news. As a comparison, in Nigerian media ethnicity and religious affiliates have been recognized to be significant determinants in the news about Boko Haram.

In the second frame theme group “*Government inactivity and politics*” more than half of the news (55%) told about the negotiations and international interventions to release the Chibok schoolgirls and to solve the conflict between the Nigerian government and Boko Haram. The description of the Nigerian government’s or security forces’ interventions was found in 35% of the news. However, the authorities’ often confusing statements, together with information about the government’s random attacks against civilians were reported like chains of events taking place, but without further critique or evaluation from the perspective of responsibility, truth value or human rights violations. The frame of false news or mistrust was recognized in 29% of the news.

In the frame theme group “*Terrorism and violence*” the abduction of the Chibok schoolgirls was dealt in more detail in 74% of the news. HS described the fate of the girls in captivity and the news about their releases, but missed the follow-up or the recovery process of the liberated girls. Neutrality and the descriptive style in event reporting also meant that little attention was paid to evaluate the case from the human rights perspective.

One third of the news (33%) discussed terrorism in general. Nigeria, together with Syria and Iraq, is among the countries with the most attacks of Islamic terrorism. However, it has been estimated that more civilians have been killed in the fight against terrorism than in the attacks made by Boko Haram. The role of the Nigerian government in the atrocities was recognized, but not widely discussed in the news. In addition to deaths and casualties, violence in Nigeria has caused displacement of millions of people and the closing of schools in Northern Nigeria.

In 46% of the news about dozens of other attacks that took place in Nigeria the reporting seems descriptive, stating the attacks, their casualties and mainly also the Nigerian government’s – in many cases delayed - statement about the attack and its consequences. The news presented the conflict to be the government’s fight against Boko Haram, although the conflict in the country is reported to be more complex and between more parties than the two mentioned.

The last of the frame theme groups concentrated on the *community reactions and compassion* that was shown related to the abduction. The reactions of the communities of the victims were present in 31% of the news. The residents and volunteers have had an active role in fighting and opposing Boko Haram. The social media campaign #BringBackOurGirls, with public persons as its promoters, raised international awareness to the case and was also noticed in seven of the HS news. However, through its neutral reporting style HS avoided portraying the compassion towards the Chibok schoolgirls via the publicity that resulted from the actions of public persons.

The news about Boko Haram's attacks are also about survival, releases and escapes, and these themes were present in 15% of the news. When the news (17%) told about the victims of Boko Haram, it was mostly about describing the victims' or eyewitnesses' violent experiences during the attacks or the capture, or talking about the protection or needed rehabilitation of women and girls like the Chibok schoolgirls. Little attention was paid to boys or men who may have been abducted and forced to become Boko Haram fighters against their will. Also, the voices of returned but marginalized Boko Haram victims remained unheard.

In general, the Chibok schoolgirls were depicted as a cohesive group of girls who are subjects of terrorism and collective violence. Despite the wide media coverage of the case, the schoolgirls' story was told by others in the news or via the reports of human rights organizations. It also seemed that both the Nigerian authorities and Boko Haram were using the publicity of the Chibok schoolgirls as a bargaining chip in negotiations and in crafting a public image: Boko Haram from the perspective of intimidation, extortion, and negotiations of exchange, and Nigerian authorities as a means of internal and international politics.

The theme of education is also a cross-cutting theme in the Chibok schoolgirls' case, but one only briefly discussed in Helsingin Sanomat. The rescued Chibok schoolgirls have gotten a chance to make choices regarding their future, and as such, they can be seen to be a privileged group in comparison to the other victims of Boko Haram in the rural and poor Northern Nigeria. However, portraying the Chibok schoolgirls in the news only as collective group of victims or subjects of government politics reduces their agency as individuals or active citizens.

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News IDs and details of the news used in this study are listed in the Appendix.

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8 Appendix

News IDs, details, and headlines

The original news texts in Finnish can be accessed via the links in the Helsingin Sanomat news archive.

News ID	News details and headlines
N1	Palttala Pipsa, Peurakoski Tomi (April 15, 2014) Asemiehet sieppasivat jopa 200 tyttöä koulusta Nigeriassa. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002724374.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N2	STT–AFP–REUTERS Suurin osa Nigeriassa siepatuista koulutyttöistä vielä kateissa (April 17, 2014) Vain 14 tyttöä pääsi pakenemaan kidnappajilta. Yli sata tyttöä on edelleen kateissa. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002724820.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N3	STT–AFP (April 19, 2014) Joukko siepattuja koulutyttöjä vapautui Nigeriassa. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002725359.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N4	STT–AFP (April 21, 2014) Nigerian koulutyttöjä kateissa ehkä jopa runsaat 200. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002725563.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N5	Huusko, Jukka (April 26, 2014) Yli kahdensadan koulutyttöjen sieppaus järkyttää Nigeriaa. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002726885.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N6	Editorial (April 30, 2014) Onko rikkaalla Nigerialla varaa unohtaa siepatut koulutyöt? https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000002727529.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N7	STT–AFP (April 30, 2014) Nigerian siepattuja koulutyttöjä ehkä myyty ulkomaille. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002727665.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N8	Huusko, Jukka (May 3, 2014) Mitä he ovat tehneet tyttärillemme? https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728337.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N9	AFP (May 4, 2014) USA: Autamme siepattuja koulutyttöjä. Available aft https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728552.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N10	Huusko, Jukka HS (May 4, 2014) USA lupasi apua siepattujen koulutyttöjen pelastamiseen. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728562.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N11	HS–AFP–STT (May 5, 2014) Yhdysvallat pelkää, että siepattuja tyttöjä on jo salakuljetettu naapurimaihin. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728808.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N12	STT–AFP (May 5, 2014) Nigerian presidentti: Siepattujen tyttöjen etsinnät jatkuvat. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728743.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N13	Reuters (May 6, 2014) Yhdysvallat tarjoaa sotilasapua siepattujen tyttöjen pelastamiseksi. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002729088.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N14	Reuters (May 6, 2014) Britannia tarjoaa apua nigerialaistyttyjen etsintään. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002729045.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N15	Huusko, Jukka (May 6, 2014) Teinitytöt siepannut Boko Haram elää lisääntyvästä sekasorrosta. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002729133.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N16	(May 6, 2014) Boko Haram uhkasi myydä siepatut tytöt. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002728902.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N18	Laitinen, Joonas (May 7, 2014) Nigeria tarjoaa 300 000 dollarin korvauksen kaapatuista teinityttöistä. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002729354.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N19	Editorial (May 9, 2014) Islamistit valitsivat koulutytöt vihollisikseen. https://www.hs.fi/paakirjoitukset/art-2000002729798.html . Cited May 14, 2020.
N20	STT–AFP (May 9, 2014) Amnesty: Nigeria sai varoituksen tyttöjen sieppauksesta. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002730000.html . Cited January 16, 2020.
N21	Hannula, Tommi (May 9, 2014) Maailma jakaa nigerialaisten tuskan – twiitti kerrallaan. https://www.hs.fi/ulkomaat/art-2000002729839.html . Cited May 14, 2020.

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